



# THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1732.

PROCEEDINGS *and* DEBATES in the last Session of Parliament;  
*continued from Page 384.*



R. H—ce W—le. Sir, I find some of those Gentlemen who have spoke, are quite mistaken as to the Motion that has been made. If any new and unheard of Tax had been thereby proposed, they

might have some Reason for their Fears. But it is only propos'd to revive a Tax, which was raised upon the People of *England* for 34 Years together, without the least Grumbling or Complaint. By Experience, *Sir*, we find it is no way burthensome upon the People; and indeed, it is so little felt, that since it was taken off, there is hardly a Man sensible of the Ease. It is paid by such a Multitude of People, that no single Man can feel what he pays thereto, which demonstrates that it is one of the most easy Ways of raising Supplies for the Government.

Those who talk of its being destructive to our Trade and Manufactures, ought to come to Particulars; and shew what Trade or Manufacture was lost or injur'd, during the 34 Years that the Tax continu'd, and what Manufactures have become cheaper, or what Sort of Tradesmens Wages have been lower'd, since the abolishing of this Tax: If any such Effect could be made appear, I should believe they had some Reason for what they say; but since the contrary Facts are true, the pretended fatal Consequences of this Tax must be all imaginary.

As this is one of the most equal and easy Taxes, so not one can be propos'd, that may be rais'd with less Expence: The Method of raising it, costs but very little more than the raising of the Land-Tax will cost: Whatever

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Difference there may be, is much more than atton'd for, by the Equality of the Tax upon Salt; and by its being so general, that it becomes altogether insensible; whereas the Land-Tax is one of the most unequal, and the most grievous on those who pay it, of any that ever was rais'd in this Country: And if we consider what wretched Circumstances many of the Landholders in *Britain* are in, we can't surely make the least Hesitation in giving them Relief, by laying on another Sort of Tax, which never was, nor ever can be felt; a Tax so just that every Man contributes to it in Proportion to the Benefit he receives; in Place of a Tax, by which a few are obliged to contribute the Whole of the Charge, tho' they receive but a hundredth Part of the Benefit.

We have been likewise frightened with the Name of a general Excise, and the Loss of our Liberties and Properties. As to the last, the Bugbear will vanish, if we but reflect upon the great Men that were at the Helm, when the Salt Tax was first laid on; which was in the Reign of the late K. *William*, the glorious Restorer of the Liberties and Properties of this Nation: It was contriv'd and advis'd in his Time, by a Set of Ministers, who will ever be respected for their great Wisdom, and their great Attachment to the Constitution and Liberties of this Kingdom. As for a general Excise, I never heard of any such Design: No Man that I know, had ever any such Thing in his Thoughts, nor can the reviving of the Salt Tax any Way contribute to it. I may say, that I think many of our Customs are heavy upon Trade, and very troublesome to our Merchants; and therefore, if some of the most grievous were turn'd into an Excise, it would be of great Advantage to the

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the Nation, and might I believe be easily done without endangering in the least our Constitution, or incroaching upon the Liberty or Property of the Subject: But as there is at present no such Proposal before this House, we have no Occasion to take such a Thing into our immediate Consideration.

Sir W-----m W-----m. Sir, I could not but suspect from the Manner of introducing this Motion, that something very extraordinary was to follow: And in my Opinion, this is one of the most extraordinary Motions that ever was made in this House. Under the Pretence of giving immediate Ease to the Landed Gentlemen, we are to revive a Tax, which will lie as heavy as the Land-Tax on most of them, and is not only destructive to the Trade, but inconsistent with the Liberties of this Nation. I agree with the Gentleman who made the Motion, That many of our Landed Gentlemen have been reduced to most miserable Circumstances, by the heavy Burthens they have so long born; but their Misery is not owing to the Land-Tax only; every other Tax contributes its Share, and none contributed more to the general Misery of the Nation, as well as of the Landed Gentlemen, than this, now propos'd to be reviv'd. It is indeed become necessary to continue the Land-Tax on the former Footing, or to impose some new Tax in its Room; but whence does this Necessity proceed? why, from maintaining a greater Number of Land-Forces, and putting ourselves to much greater Charges, than we have in my Opinion any Occasion for. It has always been, and always will be the Case, Sir; one wrong Measure must for ever give Birth to another, that to a third, and so until publick Ruin becomes inevitable, if no Redress be offer'd in Time, which can only be by altering the former wrong Measures, instead of supporting them by worse.

I am sorry, Sir, to find, we are reduced to this Extremity, that we must either lay on a Land-Tax, which seems to be agreed by all, to be heavier than the Landed Gentlemen are able to bear, or a Tax, which in the Opinion of, I hope, the Majority of this House, is of much more fatal Consequence. How fatal is this Necessity! Our Landed Gentlemen must be ruin'd, or the Nation must be undone! Every Tax is an Evil that ought to be avoided, if possible; the corrupt Nature of Mankind has made some Taxes necessary for the Support of Society; and we find, that Taxes, like other Evils, are fruitful in begetting one another: But when we come to a Choice between two Taxes, of the two Evils we shou'd certainly chuse the least; and since we have by our former Resolutions made one of the two necessary, we ought now to examine strictly which is the least Evil.

I have, I hope, Sir, as deep a Sense of the Miseries of my Fellow-Countrymen as any Man in this House, and when I speak of charging Land in Place of Salt, I speak against my own private Interest; and therefore I flatter myself, that those who hear me, will think I am sincere. The reducing the Land-Tax would indeed be a great Relief to the Landed Gentlemen, if it could be done without taking as much from them in another Way. The Land-Tax is a heavy Charge on the Landholders; but that is the only Evil attending it; I cannot grant that it is so unequal as some Gentlemen have represented; every Man should pay to the Publick in Proportion to the Benefit he receives therefrom; a poor Man who has no Property, ought not to be charg'd for the Defence of Property; he has nothing but his Liberty to contend for, and for the Defence of that only he ought in Justice to be charg'd; whereas a Man who has an Estate, has Property as well as Liberty to contend for, and for the Defence of both he ought to be charged. Liberty may be equally dear to every Man, but surely he that has the largest Property, ought to contribute most to the publick Expence.

In considering the Evils that necessarily attend a Tax on Salt, the Land-Tax will on Comparison be found to have many Advantages: One of the great Evils of a Salt-Tax, I may say the greatest, because it strikes at our Constitution, is the great Number of Officers which must be employed in collecting that small Branch of the Revenue. These Officers are all named by the Crown, and being spread over the Country, must have great Influence in Elections: This, Sir, throws a greater Power into the Hands of the Crown, than is in my Opinion consistent with our Liberties. If it shall ever be the Misfortune of this Nation, to have a Set of wicked Ministers, and a weak, or an ambitious Prince on the Throne, the great Number of Officers employed in collecting the publick Revenue, must be of the most dangerous Consequence to our happy Constitution; and therefore we should not on any Pretence whatever, increase the Number of those Slaves of an Administration. Here the Land-Tax has by much the Advantage of the Salt-Tax; in the first there are few or no Officers employed; the last will make an Addition of 6 or 700 to the Number of Officers we had before. This Tax is also a dangerous Precedent; it is one Step towards a general Excise; from this which is really an Excise on Salt, we may come to have an Excise laid on every Thing we can eat or drink. It would be dangerous to begin to raise even the Taxes we now pay by the Method of Excise, both because it would be a bad Precedent, and because of the Uncertainty of the Produce. If the raising them by Excise should produce less than they now do, they could not answer those



those Payments for which they are appointed; and if it raised more, it might (considering the present Establishment of the Civil List) throw more Money into the Hands of the Crown, than would be consistent with the Freedom of the People.

Another Advantage the Land-Tax has over the Tax now proposed, is, that the raising of a Shilling in the Pound, costs but a Trifle, and is subject to no Frauds; but it is impossible to raise the Salt Duty without employing a great Number of Officers, who must all have Salaries, besides the Perquisites and Gratuities which always have been, and will be given to such Officers: The honest Part of Mankind can never get common Justice from them without paying the Perquisite, and the Fraudulent will always purchase their Connivance by large Gratuities; thus a very large Sum will be raised upon the People, and but a small Part come to the Use of the Publick, or the Benefit of the Nation. This was formerly the Case of this Duty on Salt; there was always a great Difference betwixt the gross and neat Produce thereof, and never any Tax in this Country gave so much Occasion to Frauds and Perjuries; it is so much above the proper Price of the Commodity on which it is raised, that it always was, and must be a great Temptation for People to perjure themselves, and cheat the Publick.

I am surprized to hear any one doubt of this Duty on Salt being heavy upon Trade, and prejudicial to our Manufactures. I defy any Man to name one Trade or Manufacture it is not prejudicial to; can any suppose it does not enhance the Price of all Provisions? and thereby it becomes a Charge on every Manufacture in particular; but upon our Nation it is insupportable; every Ship that sails from this Kingdom, must pay dear for her salt Provisions, or go to some other Place to take them in: Do not we know, Sir, that many of our Merchant Ships for several Years last past have gone to *Ireland* to take in the salt Provisions necessary for their Voyage? If this Tax had been discontinued for any Number of Years, they would probably have returned to victual in our own Ports, as they always did before the laying it on. The short Time it has been discontinued, has shewn what a Disadvantage the Reviving of it will be to the Improvement of Land. Since the Tax was taken off, several Experiments have been made for the improving Land by Means of Salt, which have all answered to Admiration. The Revival of this Tax can't therefore proceed from any Compassion for the Landed Gentlemen; since a very small Improvement of the Rent of an Estate, is worth a great deal more than one Year's Land-Tax at a Shilling in the Pound will amount to even on a very large Estate.

But in the present Case we not only pre-

vent the Improvement of Land, but take as much from almost every Landed Gentleman in another Way, as he saves by the Diminution of the Land-Tax; and at the same Time we take so much from his Tenants, as to disable them, or some of them at least, from paying the same Rent they formerly paid. In all well regulated Countries great Care is taken, that the poor Farmer be not overcharged. Where is a more flourishing, or better cultivated Spot of Ground, than our neighbouring Country of *Flanders*? Yet what Desolations has that poor Country suffered by contending Armies! What is this to be ascribed to? Certainly to that wise Politick of the Landlords, established as a Law there, that whenever any Farmer suffer'd in his Farm by the Incampments or Depredations of an Army, he paid no Rent for that Year: By that he was enabled to support the Loss, and repair the Damages for the Benefit of his Landlord as well as himself. Do we not see the Effects of a contrary Politick in *Poland*? There the poor Tenants are rack'd and oppress'd, whence one Half of that Country, naturally one of the most fertile in *Europe*, lies waste and uncultivated. This will always be the Consequence, when a Landlord charges his Tenant for the Sake of a small Ease to himself.

We have already, Sir, so many Taxes, so many Impositions; the Price of every Thing is thereby so much enhanced, that none of our Manufactures can be sold in a foreign Market so cheap as the same Sort are sold by our Neighbours. To this only, the great Decay of our Trade is to be imputed; and if it had not been for some natural Advantages, it would have been before now entirely lost. Happy were it for this Nation, if they had always raised the Supplies within the Year: We severely feel the Effects of this Error in Politicks committed by the Generation before us: And yet shall we with our Eyes open go on in the same Track, and doubly load our Posterity for a small present Ease to ourselves? We are told, that this Tax is to continue but for 3 Years; but I plainly see, it must be continued longer: It is allow'd that 500,000*l.* may be raised by this Tax, in two Years and a Half; whence I foresee, that at the End of 3 Years we shall be told, that there being half a Year good in Hand, the continuing it but for 2 Years longer, will raise such another Sum. I doubt not, but at the End of this 3 Years, we shall be under a much greater Necessity of raising such a Sum by extraordinary Means, than we are now; at the End of 5 Years it may be the same, and thus it may for ever continue.

Even the Landed Gentlemen, if they consider their own Interest, never will desire to be eased as to the Land-Tax by laying on another Tax in the Place thereof. Let us but

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suppose, that 5,000,000*l.* were to be raised, and this I believe is as much as the neat Produce of all our Taxes will amount to. If this Sum were all to be raised by a Land-Tax, it would amount to 10*s.* in the Pound: This indeed would be a most grievous Tax; but let any Gentleman compute what he now pays under the present Method of Taxation, towards the Land-Tax, the Malt-Tax, the Window Lights, and by the advanced Price of all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life; I believe he will find, that in the Year it amounts to more than if he were to pay a Land-Tax of 10*s.* in the Pound, and at least to as much again upon the rest of the People. This is the unavoidable Consequence of our present Method of Taxation. The Charge is so great, and the Advantages taken by the Merchant and Retailer so extravagant, that one Half at least of what is raised upon the People, never comes to the Use of the Publick. It is so far, *Sir*, from being laid out for the Benefit of the People, that it may some Time or other be turned towards the enslaving of them. From whence I think it as demonstrable as any Proposition in *Euclid*, that if we actually paid a Land-Tax of 10*s.* in the Pound, without paying any other Excise or Duties, our Liberties and Properties would be much more secure, and every Landed Gentleman might live at least in as much Plenty, and make a better Provision for his Family, than under our present Method of Taxation.

I shall, conclude, *Sir*, with observing that as this Tax falls most grievously upon the Poor, and as they are by far the Majority of the People, it must of Consequence raise a general Murmuring against the Administration: By this the Government for their own Security, will be obliged to keep up a numerous standing Army; this will be new ground of Complaint among the People: They will at last begin to think their Liberties and Properties are really in Danger; and I hope the People of this Nation will always have Courage enough to dispute so sacred, so valuable a Prize; but cursed must they be, whose Measures shall occasion such a Contest.

Mr. D—*s* spoke as follows. *Sir*, We have heard a great deal of the Inequality of the Land-Tax, and that but a small Part of the Nation contributes any Thing thereto; I grant it is so far unequal; but then as no Man contributes but he that has an Estate, it can't be said, that it is insupportable to any; and the rest of the Nation are quite free from that Burthen. But this Tax upon Salt is as unequal as the other, for there are a great many Gentlemen in this Nation, the greatest Part of whose Estates consists in Salt Works, and by this Tax there will be at least one sixth, I may say one fourth Part of these Estates taken from them; and be-

sides, no Person in the Nation can be free from this Tax, it must be burthensome on all, and insupportable to a great many. I have the less Reason to be against the reviving of this Tax, because by the Articles of *Union*, that Part of the Country which I come from is to be free therefrom, or at least from the greatest Part thereof: Nor can I think the taking off a Tax, for one Year, which *Scotland* is by those Articles to be free from, and laying it on the very next Year, will ever afford a Pretence for charging *Scotland* with the Payment of such a Tax; otherwise it would be easy to subject them to all those Taxes and Duties which they are declared free from by the said Articles. This, *Sir*, is my Opinion; but I shall be sorry ever to see any Thing brought into this House, that may possibly bring any one of the Articles of *Union* into Question, or so much as raise a Doubt about the Meaning of any one of them: Explanations in that Affair will always be dangerous, and every Man who wishes well to his King or Country, will endeavour all he can to avoid coming to any such. If there were no other Reason, *Sir*, for my being against this Duty on Salt, this one is enough, that there appear to be several Gentlemen in this House, of a different Sentiment from me, with respect to the Intention of that Article of the *Union*, by which *Scotland* is declared free from the Duties then payable upon Salt. I hope all the Gentlemen of my own Country at least are in this Point of the same Sentiment with me, and consequently as they have little to do in the present Question, I hope they will at least withdraw, and not join in laying a Tax on their Neighbours, which their own Country is not to bear an equal Share in.

It is well known how many Frauds and Perjuries were committed while there was a Duty upon foreign Salt, and Drawbacks allowed upon the Exportation of Fish cured therewith. How many Ships were sent out with Fish, pretended to be so cured, which never carried any to a foreign Market? Do not we know, that some Ships have been entered, or at least pretended to have been entered, and the Drawbacks for the Cargoes of such pretended Ships, have been allowed and paid, and yet it was afterwards discovered, that no such Ship was ever built? One Gentleman was obliged to fly his Country for such Practices; 'tis true, he afterwards got a Pardon, and soon after a Commission in the Customs; how he came to deserve such Favours and such Preferment, is more than I can tell; but I am sure no Man ever was, or will be deterred from such Crimes, by the Severity of the Punishment he met with. The Multitude of those Frauds committed by the Exporters, or pretended Exporters of Fish cured with foreign Salt, obliged the Government at last to take the Duty entirely off of foreign Salt,



Salt, and every Man was allowed to import Duty-free, as much as was necessary for curing all the Fish he exported to any foreign Market: What was the Consequence? Why, under this Pretence of curing Fish for a foreign Market, a great deal of foreign Salt was publicly imported, and afterwards privately sold about the Country for all the Uses in Life; and 'tis well known, the Proprietors of Salt-Works know it to their Cost, that while the Duty continued on home-made Salt, there was none of it ever us'd in many Parts of this Island. If this Tax be revived, the same Frauds will be renewed; and Frauds there will be, put it in what Shape you will: If you revive the Duty on foreign Salt, there will then be Frauds as to the Drawbacks; if you revive the Duty on home Salt, without laying a Duty on the Importation of foreign Salt, then in several Places, they will fall upon some fraudulent Way or other of getting foreign Salt for all Uses; whereby you will increase the national Expence, and in a little Time destroy most of your own Salt-Works.

The Independency of this House has of late been much talk'd of; I hope it will always be independent: But I must say, *Sir*, that if a Scheme had been laid down for making it dependent on the Crown, a more easy, effectual, and certain Method could not have been contriv'd for the Success of such a wicked Scheme, than this of reviving the Salt-Duty. By this Duty there is so large a Sum yearly raised, and so little brought to the public Account, that it may really be most properly call'd, a Bribing of us with our own Money. I am sure his Majesty never can think of such a Scheme; he has the Interest of the Nation, and the Benefit of Mankind too much at Heart, to let any such Schemes ever enter into his Thoughts; but every Man is sensible that a great Number of Officers all named by the Crown, and removable at the Pleasure of the King, or of those in the Administration, may have (if so applied) an Influence upon the Elections for Members of Parliament; and considering the Time that this Duty is now laid on, that it is laid on for 3 Years only, and that within that Time there is to be, as it is hop'd, a new Choice of Representatives, one who does not know his Majesty's good and just Intentions, will be apt to suspect, that the laying on of such a Tax at such a critical Juncture, is with Design to influence the approaching Elections. I shall always be against any Measure that may give the meanest of his Majesty's Subjects the least Cause to suspect, that his Majesty ever had a Design of making Use of any such Influence. I am convinc'd, he has no such Design; I firmly believe, he never will form any such Design; but as much the greatest Part of the People live remote from Court, and have no Opportunity of

knowing his Majesty's real Intentions, they may put wrong Constructions on Things: and therefore no Man who is a sincere Lover of the present happy Establishment, ought to agree to any Measure, which is in its own Nature liable to be misapprehended, and apt to raise Jealousies and Fears among his Majesty's faithful Subjects.

*Sir R-----t W-----le* spoke again as follows. *Sir*, I expected the Motion I was to make, would meet with Opposition, either from those who have not so thoroughly considered this Matter, or from those whose private Views lead them to be against it. However this did not, nor ever shall deter me from offering to this House what I take to be for the Good of my Country. All publick Assemblies must for ever be compos'd of Persons who have different Ways of Thinking, different Interests and Ends. Every Tax will be objected to by some of those who are to pay it; and the most unequal Tax will be preferred to the most equal, by those who are to contribute nothing or a very little thereto. Those who live by the Necessities of Mankind will for ever oppose what is propos'd for their Relief; hence it is, we always see great Opposition to all Attempts for improving the Navigation of Rivers, or of waste Lands and Commons.

Envy and Malice will often prompt Men to oppose what is apparently for their own Benefit, as well as that of their Country. I don't believe any Gentleman in this House opposes what I have mov'd for from any such Motives. I am persuas'd their Opposition made thereto proceeds from their mistaking the Case before us, and therefore I shall endeavour to remove those Mistakes.

Our Liberties and Properties would indeed be in imminent Danger, if an Addition of 4 or 500 Officers could add such a terrible Influence to the Power of the Crown as is pretended. But, *Sir*, we have the Experience of above 30 Years to convince us of the Unreasonableness of such Apprehensions; and during a great Part of this Time, the Crown had besides this Number of Salt Officers, a much more numerous Army than it has now; consequently the Power of the Crown must have been much greater than it can be made by what is now propos'd; and yet it was never found to be too great; but on the contrary the Crown was always oblig'd to sue for, and to submit to the Inclinations of the People. While the Power of the Crown is made use of only to defend the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, the Crown will always have the Inclinations of the Majority of the People in its Favour. This is the natural and just Influence which the Crown ought to have, and I hope it will never have any other in this Kingdom.

I am persuaded that no Man ever yet thought of introducing a General Excise into this Country; I can answer for myself, I never did; but because there is such a Term as a *General Excise*; because there is such a Thing in some Countries; will we therefore admit of no particular Excise, nor any Duty on any particular Commodity? We may as well say we will pay no Tax, because in some Countries that are subject to Arbitrary Power, they are oppressed with Taxes. The laying of an Excise on one Commodity, or on one Sort of Provisions, can no more be a Precedent for a General Excise, than my giving a poor Man half a Crown, can be for my giving him my whole Estate. We find the Method of raising Taxes by way of Excise, is not absolutely inconsistent with Liberty; it is the Method by which most of the Taxes in *Holland* are raised; yet no Man can say but the *Dutch* are a free People, and as jealous of their Liberties as any People ought to be.

There are at present no Thoughts of converting any Duty into an Excise; but if all or most of our Customs were converted into Excises, I am persuaded it would be beneficial to our Commerce in general, and there is no great Fear of its adding so much to the Civil List; for notwithstanding the Clamours on that Head, it appears, that from his Majesty's Accession, to 1731, even including the 115,000*l.* granted by Parliament to make up the Deficiency of the Civil List Revenue, the Produce of all those Duties appropriated to the Civil List has not amounted to 800,000*l.* *per Ann.* which is the Sum that has been judged by Parliament to be necessary for supporting the Charge of his Majesty's Civil List; so that if by the Method of Excise those Duties should produce a little more, and it is not to be presumed they can produce a great deal more, they will only make up that Sum which the Parliament have thought themselves obliged to make good to his Majesty.

I am surprized, *Sir*, at the Proposal for laying this whole Tax upon Salt made in *Scotland*; I am persuaded the Gentlemen are not serious in what they propose; I reckon it was made only to divert the principal Question, and to oblige the Gentlemen of that Country to be against it. The Salt Duty now proposed to be revived, was granted at two several Times; one was for but 11*s.* *per Bushel*; the other for 2*s.* 4*d.* *per Bushel*. At the Time of making the Union, the *Scotch* Commissioners were willing their Country should after a certain Term of Years be subject to the 11*s.* *per Bushel*, but they declared their People could not possibly afford to pay the additional 2*s.* 4*d.*; and therefore they insisted on their being free from it for ever, which on our Side was agreed to. The Act

of the 9th and 10th of *K. William* had imposed this Duty of 2*s.* 4*d.* for ever, and therefore that Article of the Union relating to this Duty on Salt was drawn up in these Terms: That the *Scots* should be exempted for 7 Years, from all Duties whatever on home-made Salt, after which they were to pay the Duties levied in *England*, with this Exception, and in these express Words, *That Scotland shall, after the said 7 Years, remain exempted from the Duty of 2s. 4d. imposed on home-made Salt, by an Act made in England in the 9th and 10th Years of K. William III.* Can there be any Thing more express? By the Act therein mentioned, the Duty was expressly to continue to be levied in *England* for ever. Is it not therefore evident, that by the Article of the Union referring to that Act, the *Scots* are for ever to be free from that Duty? Shall we be so unjust, and ungenerous, as to make use of a downright Quirk in Law to subject those People to a Duty, which by the Agreement between us, they are for ever to be free from?

This Tax cannot therefore be said to be unequal, because *Scotland* does not pay as much as *England*. The People in that Country are to pay as much as they ought to pay, and as we can in Justice and Equity demand. Nor does it signify whether the Share they pay be sent here or not: The applying of the Money raised in that Country towards the Publick Expence in that Country, is the same as if it were sent up to the *Exchequer* here. Nor is this Tax unequal, because of the Loss that the Proprietors of Salt-Works may sustain, for none of their Estates can be thereby diminished: The Tax is not paid by the Maker, or the Seller, but by the Consumer; and the charge comes to such a Trifle upon every particular Man, that it can't be pretended any Man will consume less Salt than he did before.

The great Charge of raising this Tax, has been made use of as a weighty Argument against it; but if proper Allowances are made, it will be found that the raising of this Tax on Salt will not cost the Government above 22,000*l.* *per Ann.* The Land-Tax we know costs the Publick by Parliamentary Allowance and other necessary Charges of Management at least 13,500*l.* *per Ann.* besides this, there is an Office kept in Commission for superintending it, which costs above 4,000*l.* *per Ann.* more; so that the Land-Tax really costs the Publick about 18,000*l.* *per Ann.* Thus the Difference between the Charge of raising the Salt-Tax, and the Land-Tax appears at last to be but 4,000*l.* *per Ann.* which is not half a Farthing a Year to every Person that is to contribute thereto. Shall we then for the Sake of saving this 4,000*l.* a Year to the Nation in general, or this half a Farthing to every particular Person, continue



to oppress the Landed Gentlemen, contrary to all Equity and Justice, and refuse to approve of a Measure by which they are to be relieved, without throwing any sensible Charge on any one Man in the Nation? If the Difference were much higher, is it not amply repaid by this; that in continuing the Land Tax at 2s. in the Pound, the Nation is obliged to raise the whole Sum wanted within one Year; whereas if the Land-Tax is put at 1s. in the Pound, and the Salt-Tax laid on in Place of the other Shilling, the Nation has 3 Years to raise that Sum, which otherwise is to be raised in one?

The great Difference that always appeared between the gross and nett Produce of this Duty, has been made use of as an Argument to shew the great Charge of collecting this Revenue, and that there was always a great deal more raised from the People, than ever came to the Benefit of the Publick; but this Argument will vanish when the Matter is set in a clear Light; it will then appear, that those Gentlemen are in a great Mistake: They have always called that the gross Produce, which never was any Thing but the gross Charge. We know that while this Duty was subsisting, the gross Charge was generally reckoned, *communibus annis*, at about 470,000*l. per Ann.* but then there were a great many Articles charged to this Branch, which never were really produced or paid to it, and consequently they never can be reckoned any Part of its gross Produce.

In former Times, while this Duty was subsisting, all Salt was charged with Duties when sold and delivered from the Works, and consequently from that Instant it became an Article of the Gross Charge of this Revenue; but then whatever Salt was bought by any Person who had a Mind to export the same, he paid no Money for the Duties, but entered into a Bond to pay it, which Bond was cancelled upon a Debenture made out, certifying the Salt to have been exported. Hence it appears, that for all Salt exported, there never was one Farthing actually paid by the Subject; and by the Books it appears, that this one Article, at a Medium amounted to 120,000*l. per Ann.*

Curers of Fish paid no Duty, neither did they give Bonds for what Salt they used in Curing of Fish; but the Quantities which they took up for that Purpose, were all entered in the Accounts of the Office, as a Part of the Gross Charge, but were all discharged on due Proof, that the Salt had been used in Curing of Fish; and this Article amounted at a Medium to 51,000*l. per Ann.* which is to be deducted from the Gross Charge.

Rock Salt was charged with the Duty at the Pits, and a great deal of this was afterwards melted down, and made into white Salt,

which was also charged with the Duty, and both these Duties were charged in the Accounts of the Office; but the Refiner or Maker had an Allowance for so many Bushels of Rock Salt, for which the Duty had been charged, as he had melted down and made use of in making white Salt. This Article generally amounted to about 36,000*l. per Ann.* and is to be deducted from the gross Charge.

The whole Sums payable for Duties were always charged in the Books of the Office; and yet there was always a Discount for Prompt-Payment allowed, which amounted to about 20,000*l. yearly*; and besides this, there was another Allowance for Waste on Salt carried Coastwise, which one Year with another came to 11000*l. per Ann.* There was likewise an Allowance for Salt lost at Sea, and an Allowance or a Drawback on salt Beef and Pork exported, both which amounted to 1650*l. per Ann.* All these Sums added together, amounted to 239,650*l.* and as they never were raised on the Subject, or if raised were always returned, they must always be deducted from the gross Charge, and the remaining Sum only, which is 230,350*l.* is to be reckoned the gross Produce. From which if we deduct the Charges of Management, 25,000*l.* there remains 205,350*l.* the nett Produce. And if from this we deduct the Bounties paid annually to the Exporters of Fish, and which must be paid whether we revive this Tax or not, these Bounties amounting Yearly to 12,000*l.* the remaining Sum will then be the nett Sum to be paid into the *Exchequer*, viz. 186,350*l.* on the Credit of which 500,000*l.* is now propos'd to be rais'd.

There is no evading of Facts, and upon the most exact Examination of them it appears, that every Shilling that is actually raised from the People, comes to the Use of the Publick, except this 25,000*l. per Ann.* allowed for the Management of this Revenue. And even this is all to be given to our own People; many Families may be thereby maintain'd, who wou'd otherwise be a Burthen upon their Country.

I am persuaded, *Sir*, that no Excise whatever is attended with fewer Frauds in the Management than this Tax now under our Consideration. What is generally presumed to give Occasion to Frauds and Perjuries in all Methods of Taxation, is, when great Sums are to be paid by the Subject, and remitted to them on certain Events. Let any Man examine the Articles of the gross Charge of this Revenue, he will find, there is no Money paid and return'd. In all those Articles by which the gross Amount is made to exceed the gross Produce, the Accounts of the Office are carried on by way of Debtor and Creditor; there is hardly ever any Money paid by the

the Subject, that is to be return'd either to him or to any other upon any Event whatsoever.

The only Objection that I think has any Appearance of Reason in it, is that with respect to the Navigation of *Great Britain*; it is pretended that it will be a great Burthen upon the Victualling of our Ships: But unluckily it happens, that the Navigation of *Great Britain* never flourished more than it did under the Payment of this Tax; in a Course of 35 Years that this Tax continued, it cannot be said, that ever our Shipping or our Navigation suffered; on the contrary, there is not, I believe, any such Term in all our History, in which the Number of our Seamen, and the Number and Tonnage of our Ships, encreased so much as in that Time. This is of itself a clear Proof that this Tax can be no Discouragement to our Navigation. But in Fact it is plain that the additional Expence occasioned by this Duty is a mere Trifle. By Accounts from the Victualling-Office it appears, that the Charge for 10,000 Men in his Majesty's Navy, was at a Medium but 2,600*l.* *per Ann.* extraordinary Expence occasioned by the Duty on Salt, which is no more than 5*s.* *per Man*; so that if we reckon 30,000 Men employed in the Navigation carried on by the Merchants of *Great Britain*, the Duty on the whole Consumption of Salt in that Service will not exceed 7,800*l.* *per Annum*, and surely no Man will imagine this an insupportable Load on the whole Navigation of *Great Britain*. But those that know any thing of the Merchant Service, can testify, that Salt Provisions are not the only Victualling used in that Service. Their Ships are often in some Port or another, and then the Sailors live mostly upon fresh Provisions; even when they are at Sea, the greatest Part of their Food consists in dried Fish, fresh Fish caught at Sea, Flower, Rice, &c. Aboard of Merchant Ships they never consume near so much Salt Provisions, in Proportion to the Number of their Hands, as they do aboard any of his Majesty's Ships. And our Merchant Ships which trade to *Ireland* or the Plantations, generally take in their Salt Provisions in one of those two Places, because of the Cheapness of Meat in those Countries. As to the Exportation of Salt Provisions, this Duty can never be any Discouragement to such a Trade, because the Exporters are allowed a Drawback in lieu of the Duty they have paid.

If Salt be of so great a Benefit in the Manuring of Lands, it is certain that foul Salt may do as well for that Purpose as any other Salt whatever, and any Quantity of such Salt may be had *gratis* for carrying it off from the Pits; no Duty was ever paid or charged for such Salt, the Person who took it away to manure his Land, having an Officer with him, was always intitled to use it Duty-free. And as to the

Farmers and Graziers of *Great Britain*, this Duty can never be any great Charge on them; whatever Salt they use in making up any Goods for the Market, is paid for at the Market by the Buyer, and so comes to fall where all Duties ought to fall, upon the Consumer. In their own Families there is but very little Salt consumed, and therefore the Duty can't fall heavily upon them. If upon Computation it be found that the Duty costs but 5*s.* *per Head* at Sea, it can't cost above half that Sum at Land; even if we were to suppose there are as much Salt Provisions used at Land as at Sea, because there is not half the Quantity of Salt us'd in curing Provisions for the Land as for the Sea Service: But we know that for more than half the Year, the Country People live entirely on the Produce of the Dairy and Garden, and even for the other half Year they live more upon Cabbage, Roots, &c. than Salt Meat; consequently we cannot reckon this Duty will stand the Farmer in above 1*s.* *per Head* for those Persons that live in his Family. It is indeed impossible that it can cost so much; we may modestly reckon that the whole People of *England* amount to at least 8,000,000: Every one of whom contributes his Share to this Duty; if then, *Sir*, the Sum raised, which is 230,350*l.* be distributed among 8,000,000, it will not amount to 7*d.* *per Man*; and if from thence we deduct the 19,000*l.* which the People of *England* are obliged to pay, whether this Tax be revived or not, we must conclude that no Person in *England* contributes more than 6*d.* thereto for his own personal Consumption. He that keeps a great many Persons in his Family, must indeed pay for each of them, but whoever does so, must either have a good Estate or a good Trade, and so may very well afford to pay; and this, *Sir*, is the Excellency of the Salt-Tax, that every Man thereby contributes to the publick Charge, according to his Condition in Life. For I think no Man will say but that he who has a good Trade, or a great deal of Money out at Interest, ought to contribute as much to the Defence of Property, as he that has a Land Estate that brings in no greater yearly Revenue.

The Land-Tax is the most unequal, grievous, and oppressive Tax that ever was raised in this Country; it is a Tax which never ought to be raised but in Times of most extreme Necessity. The best Judges, the truest Patriots in all Countries, have been of Opinion, that of all Taxes, that upon immoveable Goods, that upon Lands and Houses ought to be the last Resource. In such a Case there are but a few that contribute to the publick Expence, and even among them there will always be a great Partiality as to the Value that is put upon Men's Estates. This we are sensible of in *England*; there are some landed Gentlemen that pay a Land-Tax



Tax equal to the full Value of their Estates, while others do not pay equal to a third Part; and generally those who suffer most by this Partiality, are those, whose Ancestors were a Sort of Knight Errants for the Revolution. They gloried in that happy Event; they thought themselves, in Honour and Justice, obliged to pay their equal Share for the Support of so glorious a Cause, in Proportion to the real Value of the Estates they possessed; and therefore they gave them in at the full Value. This was a laudable Zeal for the Happiness of the Nation, and for the Liberties and Privileges of the People: But their Posterity have suffered severely for it; and ought not the Merit and the honest Zeal of their Forefathers, to plead strongly for their Relief, at least with all those who are Friends to our present happy Establishment?

To pretend, *Sir*, that the taking off 1s. in the Pound of the Land-Tax, and raising the Salt-Tax in its room, will be no Ease to most, or any of the Landed Gentlemen in *England*, appears to me really a Sort of Paradox. I believe there are few Landed Gentlemen in *England*, whose Estates do not amount to 100*l.* *per Ann.* the Landed Gentlemen of such Estates, or of any Land Estate from 100*l.* to 1000*l.* *per Ann.* are the greatest Objects of Compassion, and deserve most the Consideration of this House; because those who have less than 100*l.* a Year in Land, are generally either Farmers or Graziers, or have some other Business as a Help for the Support of their Families. A Gentleman then of 100*l.* a Year in Land, if his Estate be rated at the full Value, saves 5*l.* a Year by the Abatement of 1s. in the Land-Tax: I believe it will easily be granted me, that no Man of 100*l.* a Year and no more Land Estate, without any other Business, keeps 16 in Family; but supposing he does, yet at 6*d.* *per Head* the Salt-Duty can't amount to more in the whole 3 Years than 24*s.* And to pay but 24*s.* in 3 Years, and at a thousand (I may say) different Payments, is surely much less grievous, than to be oblig'd to pay 5*l.* in one Year, and at most at two Payments. But suppose such a Man's Estate is rated but at one Third of the full Value, yet still by an Abatement of 1s. in the Pound Land-Tax, he saves above 33*s.* and therefore such an Abatement must be a Relief even to such a Man, of at least 9*s.* besides the Advantage he has of having a much longer Time to pay a less Sum.

If there were any Danger, *Sir*, that the reviving of this Tax would occasion Murmuring among the People, I should be as much against it as any Man in this House; but the Tax is in its own Nature so equal, and paid by such a vast Multitude of People, and at so many different Payments, that it becomes quite insensible to every particular Man. We know by Experience, that during the long Time it was

paid, it never occasioned the least Uneasiness; and find that the Remission of it gave no Ease; it occasioned no Joy among the People, nor were there any good Effects of it felt, either as to the lowering the Price of Goods or Provisions at Market, the raising the Value of Lands, or the reducing the Wages commonly given to Journeymen and Day-Labourers.

A In this, *Sir*, as well as in all the other Motions which I have ever made to this House, I have always acted according to my own Judgment for the Good of my Country; and therefore, *Sir*, I have no Reason to be afraid of the Curses and Imprecations of any Man. I do not think it altogether Parliamentary to use any such Expressions in this House; every Man ought in common Charity to be presumed to act according to what he thinks best, and most conducive to the Happiness of his Country. I have always done so, and while I continue to do so, I shall despise any Outcries that may be groundlessly raised against me, or against any Measure I propose.

I am sure the Salt-Tax cannot with any Reason be said to be grievous on any Man, or any Set of Men within the Dominions of *Great Britain*. Let us then, for God's Sake, Gentlemen, have some Consideration for the Freeholders, who have suffered so much for many Years; let us have some Compassion for those whose Estates are deeply charged with Mortgages and Annuities, occasioned by the heavy Land-Taxes their Fore-fathers have been obliged to pay. It is but reasonable that the Creditor should contribute to the Publick Expence as well as his Debtor, and the most proper Method for so just a Design, is in my Opinion, the Reviving the Duty on Salt. If any Gentleman can propose a better, I shall heartily join with him, and whoever thinks he cannot, will, I hope, agree to what I have proposed.

E Mr. P---y spoke as follows: *Sir*, From what his Majesty told us from the Throne at the Beginning of this Session, I did expect, I believe the People with me did expect, that we were to receive some Ease as to our Taxes. How are these Expectations of the poor People to be answered? By the Proposition now made, the greatest Part of them are to be subjected to a new Tax, and the rest to be indeed free of Part of an old Tax; but to pay a new Tax, equally grievous to most of them, and grievous to every other Person in the Nation. This is the Relief the People of *England* are to meet with from the Establishment of a profound Tranquillity abroad and at home.

F Every one in this House must remember, how the Salt-Tax came to be taken off. On'y 2 Years ago, his Majesty open'd the Session with a most gracious Speech, in which he expressed a compassionate Concern for the Hardships of the poor Artificers and Manu-  
N n a turers.

turers. Every Man agreed that they should first meet with Relief from the happy Situation of Affairs; the only Difference was as to the Manner of relieving them, and even that did not bear a Question; this Tax upon Salt was then thought so grievous upon the Trade, the Manufactures, and the Poor of this Nation, that it was given up even by the Right Hon. Gentleman who has now made the Motion for reviving it. I wish he had given us some Reason for his being now of a different Opinion. If he foresees any extraordinary Event, I wish he had been so good as to communicate it; for my Part, I can see none that can induce me to change my Opinion; on the contrary, I foresee many for confirming me in the same Sentiments I was then of, and which I think should confirm every Man who considers Consequences, and has a stronger Regard for the Liberties of his Country, and the Happiness of Posterity, than for his own immediate Interest.

I am very ready to believe, every Man acts from the justest Motives; but as the true Motives of a Man's acting or speaking can't be certainly discovered by another, we are to regard only what he does or says. Let us then in Charity believe, that whoever differs from us is in a Mistake, and whoever agrees with us acts from the same good Motives with ourselves: Then we shall examine one another's Arguments with Candour; then is Truth most likely to prevail.

Whether or no a Relief should be granted to the Landed Interest, is no way the Question now in Debate. By the Resolution of this House 500,000*l.* is to be raised for the current Service of the Year; and the only Question before us, is, Whether we are to raise this Sum by laying a Shilling on Land, or reviving the Duty on Salt. Neither can be a Relief to the Landed Gentlemen; on the contrary both must be burthensome to them. But the one or the other we have by our Resolution made necessary.

We are then to consider which of these Methods will be best for the Nation in general, and that we are to chuse without respect to who is, or is not to contribute thereto; for we are never to injure our Country for the Sake of any private Man, or any Set of Men. The Thoughts of a general Excise, I find, have been disclaimed by every Gentleman who has spoke; I hope this Nation will never be in such a slavish State, as that any Man dare openly avow such a Design; but I wish these Gentlemen had explained what they meant by a general Excise; for if any thereby means, that the People are to pay Excises on every Thing they use for Food or Raiment, there is no such general Excise in the most arbitrary Country on Earth. I therefore take the proper Meaning to relate not to Things, but to Persons; and

every Excise is general, if the whole Body of the People, even the most wretched, are obliged to contribute to it. If this be the Meaning, the Excise now proposed, is as general as any one that can be, or ever was invented under the most absolute Tyranny. And if this be tamely submitted to, it may be an Encouragement to ambitious and wicked Ministers in future Times to proceed a Step further; that again will lead to a third Attempt, and so on, till at last the People be subjected, as well as some of our Neighbours, to a general Excise in the most extensive Sense; *i. e.* on every Person, and almost every Thing that can be converted to the Use of Man.

Such a general Excise was never established any where at once, but introduced by Degrees, and where-ever such an Excise has been established, the first Step towards it was generally the Introducing this very Excise now proposed to be laid on this People. When we were involved in an expensive War, and fighting for every Thing that was dear to us; when our Land-Tax was at 4*s.* in the Pound, and every Thing loaded with Duties and Customs, it was a Sort of Necessity to submit to such an Excise; but if we agree to it now in a Time of profound Peace, will it not be a Precedent for every Excise that hereafter may or can be invented? The giving a Man Half a Crown is indeed no Precedent for my giving him my whole Estate; but if I repeat my Generosity too often, and continue it too long, I may put it in his Power to take the Residue from me. I hope no Project will ever be set on Foot for converting any of our Taxes or Customs into Excises; but if ever it be, I shall, I believe, be able to shew, that no *Dutch* Custom can in that Respect be a good Rule for us. Their Situation and Condition, the Nature of their Government, and Commerce, are so different from ours, that what may be safe and easy in one Country, may be grievous and dangerous in the other.

I am far from thinking 4 or 500 Officers at the Disposal of the Crown, can be dangerous to the Freedom of Elections, or the Liberties of the People; but surely, without thinking meanly of my Country, I may be jealous of 7 or 800, added to the vast Number of Tax-Gatherers we had before. A Multitude of Officers at the Beck of an Administration, and spread over the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, may have a vast Influence at all Elections; and if ever they should receive Orders for that Purpose, we may judge what Use they will make of the Influence they may have. The Character of those great Patriots, who first contrived this Duty, was no Argument for the Continuance of it, much less for the Reviving it. They did not out of Wantonness contrive it; they were under a fatal Necessity to lay it on at that Time. They made no



bad Use of it; but we are not thence to infer, that no bad Use will ever be made of it: A main Reason urged for abolishing this Duty, was, the Number of Officers employed in collecting it. This Argument was then admitted to be good; how it comes now to be such a trifling one, I can't comprehend.

I am astonished to hear any Man pretend that *Scotland* is any Way entitled to an Exemption from the Salt Duty, or any Part of it, when 'tis to be laid on for the current Service of the Year. It was laid down by the Commissioners of both Kingdoms, as the Basis of the Union, that there should be an Equality of all Taxes throughout the United Kingdoms. There was then no Thought of establishing any Proportion, except only as to the Land-Tax. There was before the Union a Land-Tax in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*; but it was raised in a different Manner: In *Scotland* it was levied by Way of so many Months Assessments; in *England*, so many Shillings in the Pound; and so it was necessary to consider the Proportion between a Month's Assessment in *Scotland*, and a Shilling in the Pound in *England*; and the Proportion was settled at the Rate of two Months Assessment in *Scotland*, for every Shilling in the Pound, that was thereafter to be raised in *England*. But as to the other Taxes, especially that upon Salt, there was no such Necessity.

But many of the Taxes in *England*, being mortgaged for the Payment of Debts contracted by *England*, before the Union; 'twas agreed, that the *Scots* should either be free from such Taxes, or have an Equivalent for that Part of the Debts of *England*, which they were to pay by their being subjected to any Taxes so pre-engaged. And this Tax of 2s. 4d. on home-made Salt, was one that was mortgaged for the Payment of a Part of the Debts of *England*. And the *Scots* Commissioners most reasonably judged this Tax to be so grievous, that they chose rather to have their Country free from it, than to take an Equivalent and be liable to it. Even by the Commissioners for both Kingdoms, this Tax was then thought to be so grievous, that it was presumed, the Parliament of *Great Britain* would take it off, and substitute one more reasonable; in which Case, *Scotland* was to be subject to such Tax; but it was agreed, that in such Case, they should have an Equivalent proportioned to it. From all which it appears, that the only Reason for their being declared free from this 2s. 4d. on Salt, was because it had been mortgaged for the Payment of a Debt contracted in *England* before the Union, and not comprehended in the Account of those Debts which *Scotland* was to pay a Part of, so that they received no Equivalent therefore.

'Tis true, that Act of the 9th and 10th of K. William, has that terrible Word *forever* in the

Body of it. But that dreadful Word, even by the Act itself, is confined to the Payment of that Debt, for which this Tax was then appointed; and since that Debt is now otherways provided for, it is with Respect to this Duty to be looked upon as paid, and the conditional Perpetuity meant by the Word *forever* is now at an End. It can't then be presumed, if the *Scots* Commissioners had meant an absolute Perpetuity of Exemption from this Duty, they would have referred to this Act, by which a conditional one was only established. But the Transaction was honest and fair; and it was never intended by either Party, that *Scotland* should be free from this Duty, if it should, after the Payment of the Debt of *England*, be converted to the Use of the two united Kingdoms.

The only Question then is, whether we should out of Compassion indulge the *Scots* with such an Exemption, because they are not able to pay it; I really think, Sir, we ought to have so much Compassion for them; but then surely, we ought to have an equal Compassion for the poor People of *England*. Journeymen and Day-Labourers are equally poor in all Countries; they have nothing but what they work for from Day to Day; and if it be said the poor People in *England* can pay this Duty, because they have high Wages, 'tis an unanswerable Argument against the Tax in general. 'Tis now an universal Complaint, that the high Wages of Workmen is the chief Cause of the Decay of our Trade and Manufactures. The Reasoning of some upon the Subject in Hand, appears a little inconsistent. This Duty with Respect to *England*, is altogether insensible; with Respect to *Scotland*, altogether insupportable: How inconsistent is this Way of arguing! What an Insult upon the People, who quietly submit to the Loads laid upon them!

The Distinction between the gross Charge and the gross Produce of this Duty, seems to be something new. I am surprized to hear it pretended, the Allowance for prompt Payment ought not to be reckoned as a Part of the gross Produce, or that the Sum allowed for that Discount is not raised on the People. Does any Man suppose, that the wealthy Dealer pays his ready Money for the Benefit of his Customers, or that the Consumer pays less for his Salt, because the Merchant from whom he purchases, paid the Duties in ready Money? The Article then of 20,000*l.* for prompt Payment, is to be looked on as a Part of the gross Produce.

The 11,000*l.* allowed for Waste on Salt carried Coastwise is also an Advantage only to the Dealer: This Allowance arse from a Presumption that there was a Waste on Salt carried Coastwise; and therefore 3*d.* per Bushel on all white Salt, and Three Half-Pence per Bushel

Bushel on all Rock-Salt carried Coastwise was allowed to the Dealer. But in such Case there can be no Waste; there is rather an Increase, because of its being very dry when put on board, and afterwards made to swell and become more weighty by the Moisture of the Air. Since there can be no Waste, we must presume, the Whole is bought and consumed by the People; and they always paid for it the same Price as if the full Duty had been paid by the Dealer.

The Allowance of 36,000*l.* for Rock-Salt melted, is of the same Nature. This arose from a Supposition, that in the melting and refining it into white Salt, there was a great Waste, and therefore 10*lb.* in 65 was allowed Duty free. But I have been informed, that Rock-Salt dissolved in fresh Water, will produce its own Weight in white, and when dissolved in Sea-Water one Fourth more. And the People always paid as much for white Salt made out of Rock-Salt, as for any other white Salt; therefore tho' this Allowance be a Deduction from the Revenue, the Duty on every Grain of it is raised on the People. These Sums therefore added to the gross Produce, as stated by the Gentleman who enter'd particularly into this Account, will make it amount to 297,350*l.* which is the lowest Computation of the Sum to be yearly raised on England only, by the Revival of this Tax.

But if we consider the many Frauds as to Salt, pretended to have been exported, or used in the curing of Fish, we must presume, that much more is yearly used by the People, than what pays Duty to the Publick; and as the Consumer always pays the full Price, tho' these Frauds occasion a Deduction from the Revenue, yet the Duty upon the Whole is paid by the People; and so we must presume, that a much larger Sum than I have mentioned must be yearly raised upon them. This Presumption is brought almost to a Demonstration, by the Number of the People in this Nation, even as computed by those who have spoke in Favour of this Duty: If we suppose every one uses, one with another, but a Peck of Salt in a Year, we must reckon 1*s.* at least is raised on every Person by Means of this Duty; therefore we must compute that by the reviving of it, there will be at least 8,000,000 of Shillings, or 400,000*l.* raised yearly upon the People of England only.

Let us now, Sir, consider what we are about: We are to raise 500,000*l.* for the current Service of the Year; if we raise it by reviving the Salt-Duty for 3 Years, we make the People pay 1,200,000*l.* out of which but 500,000*l.* is brought clear into the Publick Revenue. If this be Publick OEconomy, If this be common Prudence, If this be a Relief to the People, I leave the World to judge. I think I can now averr, that when I argue against the Salt-Duty, I plead the Cause of my Country.

It has been pretended, that the raising this

Duty will cost but 22,000*l.* per Ann. but I always reckoned, it cost full 25,000*l.* and must still reckon so, till I see it contradicted by the Commissioners Accounts; for the raising of, or paying the 19,000*l.* Annually for Bounties, was never any additional Expence to the Publick. It has also been pretended, that the raising 1*s.* in the Pound Land-Tax, costs near 18,000*l.* per Ann. by Reason of the Office kept in Commission for that Purpose; but these Gentlemen forget, that this Office costs as much when there is but 1*s.* in the Pound, as when there is 4*s.* Land-Tax; therefore I still insist, that the raising of 500,000*l.* by 1*s.* in the Pound additional Land-Tax, will cost the Nation but 13,500*l.* per Ann. extraordinary Expence; and so the Difference as to this Article in England only, is at least 11,500*l.* per Ann. But must not we add to this, the 2,600*l.* extraordinary Charge in the Victualling-Office? and also the 20,000*l.* per Ann. for prompt Payment? for as this is no Benefit to the Consumer, it is a real Expence to the People, as much as the above 25,000*l.* is. These 3 Sums added together, make the real Difference amount yearly to 34,100*l.* But we must reckon the whole Expence of the Salt-Duty for 3 Years, and from that deduct the Expence of raising 1*s.* in the Pound Land-Tax for 1 Year: The Salt-Tax will then cost us 75,000*l.* for Management; 7,800*l.* for extraordinary Expence in the Navy; and 60,000*l.* for prompt Payment; which added together, amount to 142,800*l.* And from this we are only to deduct 13,500*l.* one Year's Expence of raising 1*s.* in the Pound upon Land, the remaining Sum will then be 129,300*l.* This is near 26 per Cent. and if we add the additional Expence in Scotland, and the Interest the Publick must pay on borrowing this 500,000*l.* for the Service of the Year, it will, I am sure, amount to above 30 per Cent. which is a pretty considerable Premium for 3 Years Forbearance of Payment, even if the Nation were not to pay 1*s.* till the End of the Term. This, Sir, is the most favourable Light this Affair can be put in, even by those who are most sanguine for the Revival of this Duty; but if we consider it as I before put it, and suppose 400,000*l.* to be raised yearly on the People by this Means, it will appear much more odious; for then the Nation is to pay 700,000*l.* for 3 Years Forbearance of the Payment of Five, which is a Premium of very near 150 per Cent.

It is not the Repayment of Money by the Government that is the Cause of Frauds and Perjuries; it is the great Advantage a private Dealer may make, and the little Risk he runs by such Frauds and Perjuries; and therefore in all Taxes, where the Duty amounts to much more than the Prime Cost, there have always been, and always will be great Frauds; if the Dealer can by any Fraud avoid the Duty, he makes his Advantage. Considering then that this



this Duty is 10 Times the Price Salt may be bought for at the Pits, what a fruitful Fund is here for Frauds and Perjuries! It may not perhaps be easy to smuggle Salt from the Pits; but how easy will it be for the Dealer, after he has given Bond to pay the Duty, to put the Salt aboard a Ship, and re-land it again at some By Creek, or some other Way to get a Certificate of its having been exported! Hereby he gets up his Bond, and tho' he gets no Money back from the Government, yet when he sells to the Consumer Salt for 4 or 5s. a Bushel, which cost him but 4d. a Bushel, does he not make a delicious, a tempting Profit? And the more tempting, because of the little Risk he runs; for he risks only the Loss of 4d. for the Venture of 4s. clear Profit. If he can but cheat the Publick, he drives the Trade of an Apothecary, and makes 1s. of every 1d. he lays out. Again, as to the Salt delivered Duty-free for the Fishery, there is still a greater Temptation, since it depends entirely on the Honesty of the Curers; none but themselves can tell what Quantities they have used; if they can but sell their Salt privately, they may get free of the Duty by swearing the Whole was employed in Curing of Fish; and considering what little Regard is had to what is now by way of Proverb called a *Custom-house* Oath, I fear this Perjury will be much too frequent: Nor is the Loss to the Revenue, the only Disadvantage; these Baits thrown in the People's way for perjuring themselves, may at last destroy all Morality and common Honesty, and may so much diminish that Regard every one ought to have for an Oath, that no Man's Life or Property can be secure.

As to our Manufacturers and Labourers, this Tax will be a Charge on every one of them. It will be 1s. at least to every single Man or Woman that is fit for Labour; and we can't suppose a poor Man with a Wife and 3 small Children, to use less than a Bushel of Salt a Year; to such a Man this Tax will amount to at least 4s. 6d. *per Ann.* Many a poor Man has for Want of a Shilling been forc'd to pawn the only whole Coat he had to his Back, and has never been able to redeem it. Even a Farthing to him is a considerable Sum; what Shifts do the Frugal among them make, to save a Farthing! Let us imagine ourselves in a poor Man's Condition, almost the Whole of his Wife's Time taken up in looking after the Children, and the Husband working for 1s. a Day, and we shall see how hard it is to make such a Man pay a Tax of 4 or 5s. a Year for Salt.

This Tax must therefore be a Charge upon all our Manufactures; and if any of our Neighbours can sell but one Tenth of a Farthing in a Yard cheaper than we, they will at last turn us out of the Business. And as to Glass, Leather, Earthen Ware, &c. this Tax

is still more grievous, because Salt is one of the Materials us'd in their very Composition; and therefore I hope, if this Duty be revived, there will be an Exception as to them.

A It is granted by all, that the making Use of Salt is an Improvement to Land; and 'tis an Improvement successfully made use of, throughout *England*, ever since the Duty was taken off: But it is said, this Tax can't injure such Improvements, because every Man may have as much foul Salt Duty-free at the Pits, as he pleases, if he has an Officer with him. But this can only be of Advantage to those, whose Lands lie near the Salt Pits; and even as to them, this Duty will be an additional Charge, for they can't get an Officer to attend for nothing: B When a Man is once got into an Office, he has many Ways of squeezing a Perquisite from those who must apply to him, and him only. And as to all Lands that lie at a Distance from the Pits, the Reviving of this Tax will be a full Bar to any future Improvements.

C It has, I think, been admitted by all, that the Duty on the Salt made use of in curing Provisions for a Ship of 150 Tons for a 6 Month's Voyage, will amount to 40s. And I am sure there is not a Merchant in *Europe*, but will always employ that Ship (if it be as good) which he can have 40s. cheaper than another. This must put a full Stop to the employing of any *English* Ship, or the Victualling of any in *England*, where another can be made Use of, or victualled in any other Part of the World; and therefore it must not only be a Burthen upon our Navigation, but would soon be the Destruction of it, and of our Navy, if it were not for the *Navigation Act*, and some natural Advantages we have over the rest of the World. I know not how some Gentlemen may get, or spend their Estates; but in an Affair which chiefly regards Tradesmen, D I am surprized to hear Shillings and Crowns, nay even Pounds, so lightly talked of: The poor Trader may be properly said to earn his Living by the Sweat of his Brow; if he does not consider every Farthing he is to lay out, he will soon come not to have a Farthing to pay for a Bit of Bread: To such, even the Half-Farthing now so contemptuously talked of, would be of great Consequence.

F I come now to that industrious and frugal Set of People the Farmers. I hope but few of them are as yet obliged to live as has been represented, or to make their Family dine on Bread and Cheese, or on boil'd Cabbage, without a Bit of pickled Pork, salt Beef, or Bacon, to give them a Savour. I know not what they may be brought to, if we multiply Excises upon them; but I must now consider them in their present Way of Living; G and so must look upon them as using some Salt. Provisions almost every Day in the Week, for the whole Year: In such a View, a Family of 16 working Persons will consume in Salt a great

Great deal more than a Shilling's worth a Head, after this Duty is laid on; I believe above two Shillings worth: It has been computed, that a Family of ten Persons would generally cost the Master at least 6*d.* a Week for Salt, when this Duty was subsisting. At this Rate there is scarce a Farmer in *England*, but must pay above 20*s.* a Year towards this Tax, and if he pays a Rack Rent, I know not where he is to get this 20*s.* unless he runs in Arrear to his Landlord, in order to pay the Tax-Gatherer.

As to the Landed Gentlemen, for whom I have as great a Compassion as any, I believe no Man will pretend that any one of a free Estate of 500*l.* a Year or upwards, is in the present Case an Object of Compassion; and as for those who have large Estates in Land, but heavily charged with Mortgages, if they will, for the Sake of Grandeur, continue to pay the Land-Tax and the Interest on the Mortgages, it is their own Fault, and they do not deserve the Consideration of this House. The Landed Gentlemen then, under 500*l.* a Year, are the only Persons whose Condition can in the present Case be of any Consequence. There are many Landed Gentlemen, whose Estates are valued so low, that they do not pay above 4*d.* of the 1*s.* in the Pound Land-Tax; there are few or none who pay the whole Shilling; it may therefore be supposed that all the Land Estates in *England* are one with another rated for the Land-Tax, at one Half of the real Value. It has been admitted that a Farmer of 100*l.* a Year, has generally 16 Persons in Family; we may then suppose, that the Landed Gentlemen of 400*l.* a Year, keep one with another, 20 Persons in Family; such a Man's Estate is supposed to be valued at 200*l.* a Year as to the Land-Tax; at 1*s.* in the 1*l.* he saves only 10*l.* in the Whole, by taking off this 1*s.* Now as to what we must pay towards the Duty on Salt: A common Farmer with 10 in Family, is supposed to pay 6*d.* a Week, and therefore a Farmer with 20 in Family must pay 1*s.* a Week for Salt; and considering the Waste of it about a Gentleman's Family, his many Visitors and their Servants, and the poor Neighbours always hanging about a Gentleman's Family who has 400*l.* a Year, we can't allow less than 18 Pennyworth of Salt weekly for such a one's Family; we must therefore suppose that he pays yearly for Salt 3*l.* 18*s.* and since by this Duty, we raise Salt to above 10 Times the Price it formerly sold at, 9 Tenths of 3*l.* 18*s.* i. e. about 3*l.* 10*s.* is yearly drawn from every Gentleman of 400*l.* a Year by this Duty; and as he is to pay this for 3 Years, is it not plain that he pays 10 Guineas in 3 Years for the Sake of getting free of the Payment of 10*l.* in one Year? The utmost then that he saves by this fine Scheme is about half a Year's Interest upon 10*l.* Is

this the Relief so mightily bragg'd of?

A As to the Landed Gentlemen of smaller Fortunes, they will be Losers by this Measure proposed for their Relief. We cannot suppose any Gentleman's Family in the Country will cost him less than 1*s.* a Week for Salt; so he must pay yearly towards the Duty, very near 2*l.* 7*s.* amounting in 3 Years to 7*l.* so that a Gentleman of 200*l.* a Year will be 2*l.* out of Pocket, and a Gentleman of 100*l.* a Year 4*l.* 10*s.* by the Method proposed, And whether those who have great Families to maintain, many Children to provide for, and but 1, 2, or 300*l.* a Year Land Rent, to answer all Occasions, are not the greatest, nay, the only Objects of Compassion among the Landed Gentlemen, I leave the World to judge,

B As to the Gentlemen of very large Estates, the Salt-Duty will be an immediate Advantage to them; it will indeed save a Trifle to them. I hope I may be allow'd to use the Word Trifle; a Sum of Money may be called a Trifle when applied to the Rich, but to the Poor no Sum can be properly said to be a Trifle. But this Advantage to the rich Landed Men will be soon overbalanc'd by the Ruin it will bring on their Country, and on their own Estates; and I am glad to find, most of the rich Landed Gentlemen in *England* are on the same Side of the Question with me. But those who will reap the greatest Advantage from the Measure now proposed, are such as are in good Posts. Their Salaries are rated at the full Value to the Land-Tax: The taking off 1*s.* in the Pound is really putting 5 *per Cent.* into their Pockets, which can't be drawn out again by the Salt-Duty, because they either keep no Families, or keep them in Town, where most of their Servants are at Board-Wages. I am persuaded every Gentleman who is in such a Post, will shew as generous a Contempt of Self-Interest, and as honourable a Regard for the publick Good, as is, or can be shewn by the Gentlemen of great Land Estates, who with them are the only Persons that can reap any Benefit from the Measure now proposed.

F Since then what is now proposed will be an additional Charge on the Landed Gentlemen of small Estates; and since they only stand in Need of the Compassion of this House, I may now in my Turn plead with all who hear me, to have Pity on the poor Landed Gentlemen in *England*. How hard will it be to make a poor Landed Gentleman of 100*l.* a Year, pay 7*l.* in the Place of 50*l.* G Why should the poor Landed Gentlemen be so much overcharged for the Sake of a small Ease to those of plentiful Estates, or considerable Salaries from a Post that gives them little or no Trouble? This is really, if I may be



be allowed to use the Words, *Giving to the Rich, and sending the Poor empty away.* But our Compassion pleads not only for the poor Landed Gentlemen, but for all the Poor of the Nation. Let us consider how many poor Families are maintained upon 8d. or 1s. a Day, which the Father earns by hard Labour. A Bushel of Salt is the least that can be consumed in a Year by a poor Man, his Wife and 3 or 4 small Children: How cruel is it to take 4 or 5s. a Year from the Support of such a poor Family, especially when one Half of that Money is to be made a Compliment of to wealthy and fraudulent Dealers, or idle and profligate Tax-Gatherers! I hope every Man that hears me, will allow his Pity to exert itself to its utmost Height, and will consider on which Side of the present Question are the Cries of the Poor and Wretched, and the Blessings of those that are yet unborn. The Happiness or Misery of Posterity, the Flourishing or Decay of our Trade, the Preservation or Loss of our Liberties, in my Opinion, depend in a great Measure on the Question now before us; and therefore I am persuaded every Gentleman will consider it thoroughly before he determines what he is to do.

*These were the principal Speeches that were made relating to this Tax in general. On the 2d. of March this Bill was read a second Time; but before the Reading thereof,*

Mr. P---y stood up, and said: *Sir,* By the antient Orders and Methods of Proceedings in this House, nothing relating to the taxing the People, can properly be brought before us, till it has gone regularly thro' the Committee of Ways and Means. When this Affair of the Salt-Duty was brought before us in the Committee of Ways and Means, the only Thing then thought of, was, the Laying the same Duties on Salt, as had been laid on by the Act of the 5th and 6th of *William and Mary*, and of the 9th and 10th of *William III.* and thereupon we came to a Resolution for reviving those Duties; in Pursuance of which a Bill was ordered in; but by this Bill a great many Laws are to be revived, which were never thought of in the Committee of Ways and Means.

Besides, *Sir,* I find by this Bill a new Tax is to be laid on the People of *Great Britain*; a Tax upon white Herrings; and no such Tax was ever mentioned in the Committee of Ways and Means. Since then the Bill now before us is no ways warranted by the foresaid Resolution, the Passing of it as it now stands, would be a Breaking thro' the most solemn Orders of this House in Matters of the highest Consequence, that of taxing the People of *Great Britain*; I think, then, this Bill should be withdrawn, and this whole Affair again considered in the Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. S---p. The Objection made as to Order, cant properly be debated 'till the Bill has been read, for 'till then we can't pretend to be certain of the Contents; if the Hon. Gentleman thinks fit, he may then insist on his Objection; but in my Opinion, there is not the least Foundation for it; for when the Bill is read, I believe it will appear, that there is no Law mentioned therein to be revived, but what is generally referr'd to in the Resolution of the Committee of Ways and Means; and it has always been the Practice of this House, to revive Laws by a general Reference.

Sir J---n R---t. *Sir,* As I was at first, so I am still against laying a Duty on Salt; but since it was to be done, the regular Way would have been, to have come to this plain Resolution, *That a Duty of so much per Bushel should be laid on all home-made Salt for 3 Years.* I now find this was not to be done, because then there could not have been the least Pretence for not making the Duty general all over the united Kingdoms; therefore this extraordinary Method has been taken, which is as inconsistent with the antient Method of Proceeding in Parliament, as the Duty itself is with the Freedom or Happiness of the People: By taking this Method, a Blunder was committed in the first Formation of the Resolution: Whether it was really a Blunder, or a Design to save some People from paying towards this Tax, I shall not determine; but I would have some People consider that 'tis very probable this Tax may be continued after the Expiration of this 3 Years; and if so, 'tis not very probable that the Indulgence now to be granted, will then be continued. This Blunder or Design (be it which it will (was however accidentally taken Notice of, and was accordingly corrected in the best Manner; but I wish, the Gentlemen who seem so fond of this extraordinary Method of taxing their Fellow Subjects, had then also taken Notice of all the other Blunders, rather than the antient Method of Proceeding in this House should be altered.

Mr. P---r. Mr. Speaker, When this Affair was consider'd in the Committee of Ways and Means, there was not any Duty or Tax mentioned, but those laid on by the Acts of the 5th and 6th, and of the 9th and 10th of *K. William*; but it appears by the Bill, that there are Acts to be revived, by which a quite different Duty was laid on the Subject: These Acts being repealed, are now in the same Case as if never made; and so the Reviving of them without having considered them in the Committee of Ways and Means, is contrary to the constant Practice of this House, in all Matters relating to the Raising of Money. The Taxing of the People, is an Affair of the highest Consequence; and for

for that Reason our Forefathers established it as a Maxim, never to impose any Tax without first considering it in the Committee of Ways and Means. If we depart but one Step from this antient Custom, it will be a most dangerous Precedent: The most heavy Taxes may come to be the Produce of a Day, nay, of a few Hours.

Farther, In all Bills where there are Penalties or Forfeitures, it is the antient and known Practice of this House to leave Blanks for them in the first Draught of the Bill, which are never fill'd up till the Affair comes before the House in a grand Committee: It must be twice read and consider'd before such Blanks are fill'd up, and a considerable Time must intervene between the first Reading and the filling up of such Blanks. This is a wise and necessary Precaution, and shou'd not be departed from on any Account: But in the Case before us; we are to revive several Laws, which is the same as to make new Laws, by which the People are subjected to many grievous Penalties and Forfeitures, without giving ourselves Opportunity to consider of them, when this Bill comes before us in a Committee; because they are all already fill'd up in the Laws referr'd to, and to be reviv'd by this Bill. For these Reasons I shall be for withdrawing this Bill, and re-considering this Affair, in the Committee of Ways and Means.

Sir R-----t W-----le. Sir, I have been long us'd to be affronted and insulted, both within Doors and without; but while my Intentions are good, I shall disregard the Reflections thrown out by those, whose Sentiments or Views may be different from mine. There was no Blunder, nor any bad Design in the first or second Draught of the Resolution, nor in the Drawing up of the Bill in Pursuance thereof. Even by the first Draught of that Resolution, there was no Part of the Nation, but what was subjected to the Duties proposed to be laid on Salt: Some Doubts were then started, which were, I think, without any Foundation: However, to satisfy those who had raised them, some Words were added, which, according to their own Confession, put the Matter out of Dispute: And even the Case now pretended to be a Blunder, was consider'd, and the Words of the Resolution concerted so as to prevent any reasonable Exception being taken to the Bill when brought in. The Words of the Resolution in the Committee of Ways and Means were, *That the several Duties on home-made Salt, granted to the late K. William and Q. Mary, by an Act of the 5th and 6th Years of their Reign, for a Term of Years, and afterwards made perpetual; and also the additional Duties on Salt, granted by an Act of the 9th and 10th of the said K. William, which by an Act of the 3d Year of his present Majesty ceased and determined; &c.*

I should be glad to know what Words are wanting in this Resolution.

The two Acts of K. William and Q. Mary's, and of K. William's Reign, particularly mention'd in the Resolution, were the only 2 Acts of all that are to be revived, by which any Tax was laid on the Subject. It had indeed been discovered, that by Means of the

A Drawbacks, allowed upon exporting Herrings, many Frauds had been committed; and therefore it was afterwards found necessary by an Act of the 8th of the late King, to take off those Duties which by those Laws in K. William's Time were paid on Salt us'd in curing of white Herrings; and a proportionable Duty was laid on white Herrings cur'd with Salt for home

B Consumption: But is it not plain that this was no new Duty? It was only a new Method of raising the Duty on such Salt as should be hereafter used in Salting of Herrings; may it was so much looked on as a Duty still remaining on Salt, that it was not so much as mentioned in the Act for abolishing the Duties on Salt; and yet by that Act this Duty ceased as well as as all the other on Salt.

C As to the other Acts to be revived by this Bill, they were all made for the more regular raising of that Duty, which had been laid on by the two Acts before mention'd. Could any Man imagine that we were to revive those Duties, and yet not revive all those Laws, which had been made for the regular and fair raising of them? These Laws were all repealed by the Act of the 3d of his present Majesty; and surely no Man will say, that it was necessary to mention particularly every one of them in the Resolution we came to; it was enough to refer to them in general as repealed by the Act of the 3d Year of his present Majesty; such References are frequent in the Resolutions of this House; it is what is done every Year with regard to the Malt-Tax, and yet the Malt-Tax Act of the preceding Year, is as much a dead Law, before the new one takes Place, as any Law whatever.

E Even as to Laws inflicting Pains and Penalties upon the Subject, it is the common Practice of this House to revive such by a general Resolution; without leaving the Penalties blank to be filled up. The making of a general Recital of the Laws to be revived by this Bill, is only making a short Bill in place of a Book as large as the Land-Tax Bill. In my Opinion, there was no Necessity even to have mention'd in this Bill every Law to be thereby revived; a general Revival of all the Laws repeal'd by the Act of the 3d of his present Majesty would have been enough; but it was thought proper to mention every Law particularly, that no Man might have it to say, he was caught, or that any Thing was secretly foisted in, or



included under the general Words of the Bill, which was not under Consideration at the Time the Bill was passed.

Sir W—m W—m. Sir, I must still look upon this Tax as a very great Grievance upon the Poor. The poorest Labourer consumes for his own personal Use as much, nay more Salt than any Member of this House, or any rich Man in the Nation; and 'tis very hard to make such a poor Man pay out of the poor Pittance of Wages he receives for his daily Support, as much towards the publick Expence, as is paid by the richest. By taking from the Rich, we only diminish their Luxury, but by squeezing from the Poor, we increase their Misery: Which must strongly affect every Man that has any Compassion for his Fellow-Creatures.

But besides oppressing the Poor, we are now to overturn the constant Method of proceeding in this House. This, Sir, is of the utmost Consequence to the very Being of our Constitution. The antient Orders of this House ought most punctually to be observ'd. Some of them may perhaps seem of little Consequence; but if we fall into a Way of breaking thro' them on slight Occasions, we shall soon fall into Confusion. I am surpriz'd to hear it said, that a Tax on white Herrings is a Tax on Salt: We may as well say, that a Duty on Fish, is a Duty on Flesh, or that Fish is Flesh; and if we once come to give such a blind Assent to the Assertions of any Man, we may have Freedom, but it can't then be said that we make any use of our Freedom. I am sure this House was of a different Opinion when this Duty was taken off the Salt, and laid upon white Herrings; it was then look'd upon as a quite different Duty, and therefore the laying on of this Duty upon white Herrings, was first consider'd in the Committee of Ways and Means, and a Resolution was there made for the laying on of this Duty on white Herrings cured for home Consumption, in place of the Duty before laid on the Salt with which they were cured.

But it seems, this Tax on Herrings, or that on Salt, has since changed its Nature; for a Bill is now brought in for reviving the Duty on white Herrings, pursuant to a Resolution of the Committee of Ways and Means for reviving Duties on Salt laid on by 2 Acts in that Resolution particularly mention'd; in neither of which is there one Word mentioned of any Duty on white Herrings: This Pretence might perhaps have had some Shew of Reason, if neither of these Acts had been mention'd; if we had in general resolv'd to revive the several Duties on home-made Salt, which by an Act of the 3d of his present Majesty's Reign ceased, such a Resolution might have perhaps afforded some Pretence for reviving this Duty on white Herrings, but it would have been a very lame

one; for in order to include this Tax, we should have made our Resolution still more general; and resolv'd, to revive the several Duties which by the Act of the 3d of his present Majesty ceased, without inserting those Words, *Home-made Salt*; for thereby we confined the general Reference after-mentioned to the Duties on home-made Salt only, and by the inserting those Laws of King William's Reign, we still more strongly confined ourselves to those Duties, which were laid on by those two Acts only: If any additional Duty had been laid even on Salt by any other Act, surely by our Resolution, no such Duty could have been revived, tho' the same had ceased by the Act of the 3d of his present Majesty. Nor is this Duty on Fish, a Duty on Salt, because it ceased by the same Law by which the Duties on Salt were taken off, tho' no mention was made of the Duty on white Herrings; for by the Act which establishes this Duty, it is provided, that it should cease as soon as the Duty on Salt should be taken off, or in Proportion, in case any Part should be taken off.

An obsolete Law may without Doubt be revived by a new Law. A Law repealed may be revived, by repealing of that Law by which it was repealed; but I don't believe, any Law was ever revived, till after the House had taken it particularly into their Consideration in some Committee or other. The expired, or expiring Laws are never revived or continued till they have been severally and particularly consider'd of in a Committee, and a particular Resolution made as to each: Do not we every Year name a Committee for inspecting into the Laws expired or near expiring, and for considering which of them, and what Parts of each, are fit to be revived or continued? Does not that Committee examine every one of them particularly, and come to a Resolution upon each Law by itself? Are not those Resolutions reported to the House? Then the House takes every one of those Resolutions separately into Consideration, and orders a Bill or Bills to be brought in, in Pursuance of such of the Resolutions as are agreed to by the House. And is not this directly contrary to the Method we are now about? Can any Man say, that any one of the Laws to be revived by this Bill, excepting the Duties themselves, was ever taken into Consideration by any Committee, or that any Resolution has been made and agreed to for reviving all or any of them?

As to the Malt-Tax Bill, there is no Sort of Parallel. It is true, the Malt-Tax Act of the preceding Year must be expired before the new one can take Place; but while the new Bill is under the Consideration of the House, the old is subsisting: Yet even in that Case we do not lay any Tax on the Subject, till it has been particularly before us in the Committee.

tee of Ways and Means. We there take all the Duties laid on by the former Bill particularly into our Consideration, and the Resolution we always come to is, *that the same Duties shall be raised on Malt, &c. which were raised by such a former Act*, particularly therein referred to; upon this Resolution a new Bill is brought in; this new Bill is indeed generally much the same with the former, but in this Case there is no repealed or expired Law revived: The Bill is intirely new, and whatever Penalties or Forfeitures are thereby to be inflicted, are left blank to be filled up when the House goes into a Committee upon the Bill.

I believe till this Bill was brought in, no Man dreamt of such Laws being to be revived; and now it is too late to make any Objections: This Bill will be passed, before any Man can have Time to peruse and to consider all those Laws that are thereby to be revived. This shews what a dangerous Precedent we are about to make for those that come after us: A Precedent, *Sir*, that will be an eternal Reproach upon this Session of Parliament, and our latest Posterity will have Cause to complain of.

Mr. C——n. It is well known, that upon the Death of every King, all the Duties granted for the Support of the Civil-List, expired of Course, and are in the Case as if no such Duties had ever been granted; and yet the very first Parliament after the Accession of a Successor, those very Duties are all revived, and settled on the Successor, or for his Life by a general Bill: It is no Way thought necessary to bring in a particular Bill for every Duty that is then to be revived.

Mr. Pl——r. *Sir*, From this very Debate, it appears plain to me, that we are in some Doubt, whether we are regular in our present Method of proceeding or not; otherwise the Right Hon. Member on the Floor, would not have taken so much Pains to explain the Case to us; and in an Affair of so great Consequence, the least Doubt as to the Regularity of our Proceedings, ought to be a sufficient Argument for the withdrawing of this Bill, and for our resuming the Consideration of this Affair in the Committee of Ways and Means. This Session must continue for some considerable Time as yet; and as we have Time enough, I can see no Reason why this Affair may not be brought again before the Committee of Ways and Means, where all Mistakes (if any be) may be corrected.

As to what the worthy Member observ'd about the Civil List Duties, it must be granted, they expire at the Death of every King: And, *Sir*, it must also be granted, that since their first Establishment, they have all been most punctually revived by the first Parliament after the Accession of the Successor. But

in what Manner? Why, *Sir*, by the House's taking them one by one under Consideration in a Committee, and coming to a particular Resolution as to every one: Then indeed one general Bill is ordered to be brought in, in Pursuance of all these Resolutions: But is not this, *Sir*, a Method quite different from that we are now in?

A As to the Duty itself, I am surprized, there should be any further Dispute about it, for it appears to me, that every Man in this House is against it. Even of those who at first seemed to be for it, some have since acknowledged, it will be an intolerable Grievance on *Scotland*; and the rest have own'd, it will be liable to a great many Frauds: *Sir*, I can't think any Man who thinks this Duty an intolerable Grievance on *Scotland*, will be for reviving it; and we have so many fraudulent Practices already, that I can't think any Man will be for reviving a Duty he thinks will increase them.

C This Bill having pass'd the Commons, and being sent up to the Lords, they on *March 22.* read it the first Time; and after a long Debate, the Question was put for a second Reading, which was carried in the Affirmative, 40 against 25.

D On *March 27.* it was accordingly read a second Time, and it being proposed, to put the Question for committing it, the Right Hon. the E——l of *W——ea* stood up, and spoke as follows:

E *My Lords*, This House has often with great Honour to itself, and much to the Advantage of the Nation, opposed and defeated Measures which had been first broached in the other, when it appeared they tended to the Ruin and Dissolution of both. The Bill now before us, tho' brought in by the Representatives of the People, is the most iniquitous and oppressive upon the People, of any that ever was brought into either House; because there is thereby a most heavy Burden laid on the Poor, and a most unequal Tax on the Subjects of this Part of the United Kingdoms. There is indeed, a great Favour shewn to the *Northern* Parts of this Island. This Favour is really a Sort of Corruption upon the Members from that Part of the Kingdom.

F I am persuaded, indeed, that the People of that Part of the Island can't bear to pay so heavy a Duty: But for that very Reason, I am against this Bill; I think no Tax should be laid on for the current Service of the Year, but such as the whole Nation may be able to contribute a Share to: I am persuaded the *Southern* Parts of the Island are as unable to bear so heavy a Burden as the *Northern*, and I hope an equal Regard will be shewn to all Parts of the Kingdom. As *Scotland* may in some Manner be looked on as the Wife of *England*, we



we should not allow any Minister to debauch her, by shewing any particular Favours to the People there, or laying Burthens on others, which they are not to be subjected to.

L---d C----- spoke in Substance as follows. *My Lords, I must recommend it to your Lordships to consider, how this Duty on Salt came to be taken off. His Majesty, who always considers the Good of his Subjects, recommended to both Houses of Parliament, but 2 Years ago, the Easing of the Poor of this Nation. His Majesty's Words are so moving and compassionate, I have repeated them so often to the Gentlemen in the Country, that I have long had them fixt in my Memory: However, I have taken them down in writing. They were as follows: You will see, by the Accounts that will be laid before you, the State, Produce, and Application of the Sinking Fund, as far as hath been hitherto directed by Act of Parliament; and you will not fail to take into Consideration the further Disposition of the growing Produce. You are the best Judges, whether the Circumstances of the Sinking Fund, and of the National Debt, will as yet admit of giving any Ease where the Duties are most grievous. I have the greatest Regard for the Sinking Fund, and I look with Compassion upon the Hardships of the poor Artificers and Manufacturers. I leave it to your Determination, what may reasonably and with due Caution be done upon this critical Consideration.*

From hence it appears, that his Majesty looks upon the poor Artificers and Manufacturers, as the greatest Objects of Compassion. Then it was judged by both Houses of Parliament, that no Tax lay so heavy upon them, as this upon Salt, and so it was taken off. Tho' those Duties stood engaged for the Payment of some of the Publick Debts, yet so unanimous was the Voice of King, Parliament and People, at that Time, against this Tax, that nothing could be a Bar to the taking it off. But now we are going to defeat his Majesty's gracious Intentions for the Relief of the most distressed Part of his Subjects. Since this Duty was taken off, I have, in all the Countries where I have been, made so much use of it for proving how much his Majesty has the Good of the People at Heart, that if I had no other Reason, I must be against this Bill out of Respect to his Majesty, and for the Sake of that Argument I have so often us'd, in Favour of our happy Establishment.

I have many Reasons, my Lords, for being against this grievous, pernicious, insupportable Tax. In the first Place, it is a most grievous and unequal Tax on the poor Labourers, Tradesmen, and Manufacturers: Such is the Cruelty thereof, that the most Wretched are thereby the most heavily loaded; such the Injustice, that the more a Man has, the less he contributes to the Publick Expence: The

Rich generally live upon fresh Provisions, but a poor Man must live upon Salt Meat, or eat no Meat at all. By such Methods we shall soon banish all the Artificers and Manufacturers out of the Kingdom. How can we preserve our Trade or Manufactures, if we are once deserted by that useful Body? And how can we keep them in our Country, if we thus load them with Taxes, while our Neighbours are declaring them free from all Imposts and Duties, and doing all they can to entice them from us?

At the same Time this Tax will bring no Relief to the Landed Gentlemen. It is not, my Lords, the Land-Taxes they have paid, that have brought them into so many Difficulties, but the many Excises they have been subject to. The Dealers between the Producer and Consumer are the only Persons who get by Duties and Excises. There never was a Duty laid on any Produce, foreign or domestick, but what raised the Price to the Consumer more in Proportion than the Duty amounted to; and at the same Time the Dealer and Retailer made use of that Duty, as a good Argument for running down the Price to the Producer or Importer. The many Excises and Duties now raised, eat up the yearly Income of the Gentleman's Estate, and the Farmers being forc'd to sell cheap, and to pay dear for all Necessaries they cannot produce, they cannot therefore pay so high a Rent as formerly. Thus the Landed Gentleman is doubly undone; for while his Income is eat up by the Excises of what is used in his own Family, his Rents are diminished, or his Tenants broke, by the Excises paid by them.

One of 100*l.* a Year, whose Estate as to the Land-Tax is computed at the full Value, pays 20*l.* a Year out of it, when the Land-Tax is at 4*s.* that reduces his Estate to 80*l.* but he may be free of the Land-Tax the next Year, and then his 100*l.* comes entire to him. But if by raising Excises and Duties in place of that 4*s.* in the Pound, you make the Supporting of his Family 20*l.* a Year dearer than before; can he then live better for his 100*l.* than he could before for his 80*l.* a Year? But these Duties and Excises fall heavy on his Tenants as well as on him; and therefore the Rents must have been before so low that the Landlord might have raised them, or it will now be impossible for the Tenants to pay the same Rents as formerly; so that probably the yearly Rents of his Estate may be reduced to 80*l.* a Year, out of which if you deduct the former 20*l.* there will remain to him but 60*l.* a Year; and his Estate as to the Land-Tax being still valued at 100*l.* if in 2 or 3 Years after you lay on again the Land-Tax of 4*s.* he must pay 20*l.* a Year out of the 60*l.* and he has now but just one Half of what he had formerly to spend, when he paid a Land-Tax of 4*s.* in the Pound. Te-

nants must live and support their Families out of the Produce of their Farms; they must pay the Duties and Excises of Things necessary for the Support of their Families, or the manuring of their Lands; the Deficiency (if any be) must always fall on the Landlord.

We know, my Lords, by sad Experience, what a vast Difference there is between the Gross and Net Produce of this Duty: It never produced above 180,000*l.* *per Ann.* and by the most modest Computation, there is above twice that Sum yearly raised on the People of *England* only, by Means of this Tax: The yearly Expence of raising it is at least 25,000*l.* this for 3 Years amounts to 75,000*l.* and if to this we add the Interest that must be paid on borrowing the Money, the Whole will amount to 100,000*l.* which the Nation must pay by Way of Charges, for the raising this 500,000*l.* By this Bill we are again put into that destructive Method of funding and anticipating of Taxes, which is a Method that never ought to be followed but in Cases of the utmost Necessity.

As to *North Britain*, there is indeed a Partiality shewn; but even this is no real Favour, any otherways than as being a less Injury: When an Injury is offered openly, one knows how to resent it; if we can't resent it, there is at least some Satisfaction in complaining; but to hear a real Injury called a Favour, is what no Man can bear; 'tis a Contempt that will rouse the most patient People on Earth. The Sum raised in *Scotland* by a Land-Tax, proportionable to 1*s.* in the Pound in *England*, never amounted to above 12,000*l.* in a Year; but when this Tax even of 1*s.* on the Bushel of Salt was subsisting, the Net Produce thereof in *Scotland* amounted to 4,000*l.* *per Ann.* and the Charge of raising it to above 4,000*l.* more; so that by Means of this Duty of 1*s.* *per Bushel*, there will be above 8,000*l.* raised yearly on *Scotland*. And as this Duty is to be laid on for 3 Years, is it not as clear as Figures can make it, that *Scotland* is to pay above 24,000*l.* in Place of the 12,000*l.* they must have paid towards the Land-Tax?

This Duty is proposed to be laid on for 3 Years, but we know how difficult it is to get free of a Tax once established: And as this Duty may create a Fund for a Ministry, on which they may borrow 600,000*l.* I can easily foresee that at the Expiration of this Term, some Scheme may be set on foot for continuing it much longer: In such a Case I can see that even by this Bill, there is the Foundation laid of a prevailing Argument for bringing the Members from the Northern Part of the Island into the Scheme. There are Bounties paid upon the Exportation of Fish; those Bounties upon such Exportation from *Scotland* only, amount generally to about 7,000*l.* *per Annum*: This was paid out of the first and readiest of

the Customs and Excise in *Scotland*; but if this Bill pass, all such Bounties are to be paid only out of the Produce of the Salt-Duty within the United Kingdoms; therefore at the End of this 3 Years, we must either make a new Law for establishing a new Fund to pay those Bounties, or they must entirely cease with the Expiration of this Law: It will then be pretended that no such Fund can be established; and that you must either continue the Duty on Salt, or your Country must lose the Benefit of Bounties on the Exportation of their Fish.

We have already a prodigious Number of Officers employed in collecting our Revenues; the Reviving of this Duty will very much increase the Number. We know what an Influence they may have on the Elections of Members of Parliament. If any future Administration should be wicked enough to give them Instructions, the Crown may have it in its Power to get such Members returned as are agreeable to the Favourites about Court. Where then will be our Liberties? Where shall an injured People seek for Redress? The People will then be in the same Condition in which

they are now in *Turky*; their only Resource will be in Mobs and Tumults, and the prevailing Party will administer Justice by general Massacres and Proscriptions. I did appear against a Standing Army, but I never was so much afraid of the Consequences of that, as I am of the Consequences of a House of Parliament's depending entirely upon the Crown.

The People are already subjected to so many Penalties and Forfeitures, that few Merchants or Dealers know when they are safe. But by this Bill they are to be subjected to a great many new ones; as to which the Subject is not to be tried in the usual Way, by God and his Country, but in a new and extraordinary Way, by Commissioners and Officers appointed by the Crown, and removeable at the Pleasure of the Crown: The Crown is to be Plaintiff or Prosecutor, and a Man depending upon the Crown, perhaps for his daily Bread, is to be the Judge. This Way of multiplying and continuing of Taxes, &c. has always been followed by those Ministers, who were for establishing arbitrary Power. Cardinal *Richelieu* knew well the Effects of such a Measure; what Sums were thereby brought in, and what Dependencies created. At the same Time that the Taxes put it in the Power of the Crown to give, they reduced the Quality and Gentry of that Kingdom under a Necessity to receive; to sue to the Court for some Post or Pension, and in order to obtain what they wanted, they were glad to do whatever the Court commanded. These were the domestick Measures of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and by these the Liberties of *France* were lost. As for his foreign Measures, I wish we could follow them. But in this Kingdom I hope no Minister will ever pretend



pretend to follow his domestick Measures; I am sure, whoever does, will never have it in his Power to follow his Measures as to foreign Affairs; for the Liberties of *England* are established on too firm a Basis, to be overturned by any one Man in his own Life-time; but if we do not take Care, one Man may give them such a Shock, as may make it an easy Work for his Successors: And no Measure is less liable to fail of Success, than that of increasing by little and little the Power of the Crown, by augmenting daily the Number of its Dependents, and adding to the Necessities of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, by squeezing heavy Taxes from them for every Thing: For when Liberty appears in Poverty and Distress, and Slavery in fine Trappings and great Plenty, I am afraid few will be found, whose Virtue can stand the Test of such a severe Trial.

No Taxes are more apt to raise Tumults than those laid on the Poor. This very Tax we are now about to revive, produced 2 or 3 Insurrections in *France*, before the People could be brought to submit to it; and yet the Tax there, was not much more grievous than this of ours. A Tax of much less Consequence than this, occasion'd the present Rebellion in *Corfica*, by which the People are like to change Masters; and even the Disturbances in that little Island may chance to involve all *Europe* in new Troubles.

Our People have long submitted to heavy Burthens, and they certainly will as long as they can; but after a Horse has got his full Burthen, the very Key of the Stable may break his Back. Why should we run such a Risk in a Time of profound Peace? The Patience of the People with Respect to Taxes can't be now so great as in the Time of a dangerous and expensive War; it may now be easily overstretched, and therefore we should not try Experiments, when there is really no Occasion.

D----e of N-----le. My Lords, It is very true, that his Majesty recommended the easing of the People of some of those Burthens, which lay heaviest upon them; accordingly this Tax was agreed to be taken off, as the Tax which then was thought to lie heaviest on the People: But by that very Step, my Lords, we have learnt that it never did, nor can lie heavy upon them. The Share contributed towards it by each particular Man, was so small, that no Man was sensible of what he paid whilst it was subsisting, nor sensible of any Relief by its being taken off: Therefore that his Majesty's Intentions might be fully answered, and a real Ease given to those who have for many Years been most heavily oppressed, was this Bill brought in and passed in the other House.

This Tax on Salt is in its own Nature so equal, that every Man thereby contributes to

the Publick Expence, according to the Benefit he receives: Such a vast Multitude are thereby obliged to contribute to the Publick Charge, that no Man is sensible of what he pays: whereas, by the Land-Tax, there are but very few obliged to contribute to the Publick Expence, and thereby it falls most grievously upon those that are obliged to pay towards it; the Land-Tax being then the most heavy and unequal of any that are levied upon the People, and the Tax upon Salt being the most equal and least burthensome, I must be of Opinion, that if we have any Respect for his Majesty's Recommendation from the Throne, or any Regard for that Justice and Equality which ought to be observed in imposing of Taxes, we must agree to the Bill now before us,

L----d B----- spoke in Substance as follows. My Lords, It is a little irregular to make so much Mention of his Majesty's Speech: However, 'tis plain, that his Majesty in that Speech recommends the easing of the poor Artificers and Manufacturers. But what are we by this Bill to do? We are to lay a Load on those very People, whose Case was so compassionately recommended to us by his Majesty: We are to lay again the same Load upon them, which was then deemed by both Houses of Parliament to be the most heavy Load that lay upon the poor Artificers and Manufacturers.

I shall easily agree with the noble Lord who spoke last, that when a Sum is to be paid but by a few, the Payments fall much more heavily on each particular Man, than they would, if the same, or even a larger Sum were to be paid by a great many; but when the Sum is increased in Proportion to the Number and Circumstances of the Persons that are to contribute thereto, the Payments will fall as heavily on each particular Man, as they formerly did. Suppose 6*l.* were to be paid by 6 Persons of equal Circumstances, this would amount to but 20*s.* apiece, and would not be so grievous upon them, as if 3 only of the 6 were to pay the same Sum; but if in Place of laying this 6*l.* upon the 3 Persons, we were to lay 12*l.* upon the whole 6, would not the Payments be then as grievous upon every one of the 6, as before upon every one of the 3? Suppose again, that 6*l.* is to be paid by 6 Men, worth about 12*l.* apiece, this would be 20*s.* apiece; these Payments may perhaps seem grievous upon these 6 Men, and so, to ease them, we find out 10 other Men, worth 6*l.* apiece, and 240 Men, worth 1*s.* apiece, and resolve to make these 256 Men pay among them 12*l.* each according to his Estate; in this Case 240 Men must pay but 1*d.* apiece, this amounts to but 20*s.* other 10 Men must pay but 10*s.* apiece; this amounts to but 5*l.* of the 12*l.*, and therefore the 6 Men worth 12*l.* apiece, must still pay 20*s.* a Man; So that the Payments

ments fall as grievously upon them as they did before, and are equally grievous upon every one of the other 150. In the Case I have put, an exact Proportion is observed; but in the Case before us, our rich Landed Gentlemen will meet with some present Ease, for which those of small Fortunes, and the *poor Artificers and Manufacturers* must pay double what they ought to pay, if any exact Proportion were to be observed.

This Tax upon Salt is, my Lords, so far from being a just and equal Tax, that it is the most unjust, and oppressive that ever was set on Foot in this Nation. To the Publick Expence every Man ought to pay according to the Benefit he receives. In all Cases it is cruel to tax the poor Journeymen and Day-Labourers, because it is not to be presumed that they get any Thing more than bare Subsistence by their Labour. Any Scheme for taxing them, is not only cruel, but impracticable, because if by such Taxes we enhance the Price of the Necessaries of Life, they cannot possibly subsist upon the same Wages as formerly; they must starve, or their Wages must be raised; and thus at last the Master must pay the Taxes that are laid upon the Poor he employs. But this Tax upon Salt has something in it more cruel and unjust than any other; because the Poor are thereby obliged to contribute more in Proportion than the Rich: The chief Part of their Food is Salt Meat, and Salt Fish, and therefore the poorer a Man is, the more he contributes to the Publick Expence, by Means of this Duty, so far at least as relates to his own personal Consumption.

E---I of I---y. *My Lords*, I have heard a great many hard Names given to this Bill; but I am still convinced that it does not deserve any one of them. As to his Majesty's Speech, it is certain a little irregular to take so much Notice of it in this House; but all that his Majesty meant by it, was only that his Subjects should be eased as soon, and as much as possible, and that those who were most oppressed, should be the first to be relieved; he certainly did not mean to confine his Parliament to the relieving of the Artificers and Manufacturers, without Regard to any of the rest of the People; and if we consider the Case of many a poor Landed Gentleman, I believe it will appear, that they are the greatest Objects of Compassion, and are the first that ought to be relieved.

'Tis said, this Bill will give a most terrible Increase of Power to the Crown, by the Addition of such a Number of Officers, who are all to be at the Disposal of the Crown, and must therefore be Dependents, nay downright Slaves to the Administration. Why really, my Lords, if there were any the least Ground for raising to ourselves such a frightful Spectre,

I should be as much against this Bill as any Lord in this House; but when we examine into the History of our Country, it will appear plain, that we have no Occasion to put ourselves in such Frights, tho' a much greater Number of Officers were to be added. We all have read of a Time when the Crown had much more Power than is by this Bill to be put into their Hands; they had once their Court of *Wards and Liveries*, they had their Court of *Star-Chamber*, and a great many other Powers which they claimed as Prerogatives; your Lordships must all know, that almost every one of your Estates were at that Time under the Power, and depended in a great Measure upon the Pleasure of the Crown. There were few Corporations in *Britain*, who could say, that the Enjoyment of their Charters did not in a great Measure depend upon the Good-liking of their Sovereign: Yet with all this Power, no one of them could ever subvert the Liberties of this Nation. So far otherwise, that we found Means to make them give up all the illegal and extraordinary Powers which they or their Ancestors had assumed; and by the happy Revolution we got the Liberties of the People firmly established upon a lasting, I hope, an *everlasting* Foundation, if I may say so of any Thing that is to endure as long as the World endures.

Even this very Tax was laid on, and made perpetual in the Reign of *K. William III.* the glorious Preserver of the Liberties of this Nation and of all *Europe*. During all his Reign, the Number of Officers was of no Service to him with respect to parliamentary Affairs; he met with continual Opposition in Parliament, which he was often obliged to give way to, even in Things where it afterwards appeared he was in the Right. Even the Method of collecting this Duty was first introduced by a Ministry who had as much Wisdom, and as a great a Regard for the Liberties of their Country, as any Ministry ever had; they were sensible of the Frauds that were committed under the former Method of raising it; and therefore they put it under the Management of Commissioners and Officers; and the Event answered their Expectations, for it then produced twice as much as it had ever done before. Yet that very Ministry, notwithstanding all the Successes of their Administration, notwithstanding their having carried the Glory of *England* as high as ever it was carried, and notwithstanding their having all the Officers of the Revenue, and of this very Duty, as much at their Beck as ever any Ministry can be supposed to have; were not able to preserve themselves in the Administration any longer, than the Nation had a Mind; nay, they could scarcely protect themselves against the Malice of their inveterate Enemies. From hence, it must appear, that there is not the least Dan-



ger to be apprehended from the Bill now before us.

It is supposed, that this Duty is grievous upon the Poor, and therefore it is said, it will be a Loss to the Landed Interest, and may occasion Tumults and Insurrections. Now this Supposition cannot be granted; we know the Contrary from Experience. This Duty was cheerfully paid for above 34 Years; the People were so little sensible of it, that they hardly knew of any such Duty; and when it was taken off, there was not a Man in the Nation that from thence felt any Relief.

There is another Supposition made, that this Duty will produce above twice as much as it really does; that above the Double of that Sum which comes in to the Use of the Publick, will be raised upon the People. This Supposition is founded upon the great Difference there always was, between the gross and net Produce of this Duty: But, my Lords, it is well known, that many considerable Articles were always charged to the gross Produce, which never were really produced, nor ever paid by any Man in the Nation.

As to the Subjects of *North Britain*, there never was either a Favour or an Injury designed to be done to them by this Bill; they are by the Articles of *Union*, to pay no more towards the Salt-Duty, than what is to be charged on them by this Bill. And this Tax is by Experience known to be so easy upon the People of that Country, that I am persuaded, every one of them will chuse to be subject to it, rather than to any other Tax whatsoever.

The Landed Gentlemen of this Nation bear but a small Proportion to the rest of the People; there are a great Number of rich Merchants, Tradesmen, Stock-holders, Money-lenders, &c. who have no Land-Estate, or but a very small one in Proportion to their other Estates: None of those pay a Farthing, or but a meer Trifle towards the Land-Tax. I am sure, I may say, that all that are possessed of any Land-Estate taken together, do not make above 100th Part of the People of this Nation; and yet the Land-Taxes raised within these 40 Years, will amount to one 3d of the Whole raised within that Time for the Publick Use. Besides which the Land-holders have contributed their full Share to every other Tax. But this is not all; even among the Landed Gentlemen themselves, how unequal is the Land-Tax divided!

Supposing, my Lords, we could make every Man contribute to the Publick Charge, according to the Rents or Profits he has yearly coming in from his Estate, or from his Trade and Business; even in this View we shall find, that the Landed Interest has for these 40 Years, by Means of the Land-Tax only, paid near

twice their proportional Share. The Lands of *England* were never reckoned to bring in above Ten Millions a Year, according to the Rates of the Land-Tax; but because they may be undervalued, we shall reckon 20 Millions: We must however from thence deduct what is paid yearly for the Interest of Mortgages, for Repairs, &c. The Mortgages on the Land-Estates in *England* amount to 20,000,000*l.* the Interest of this at 5 per Cent. is one Million yearly, and allowing all the other Deductions amount to another Million, we can't reckon the Income of all the Land-holders to amount to above 18 Millions a Year. The whole People are at least reckoned at 8 Millions; of these there is a 100th Part, *i.e.* 80,000, that are Land-holders, but admitting them to be 100,000, there must then be 7,900,000 Persons that have no Land-Estate; and supposing them to spend but 12*l.* a Year, one with another, their yearly Expence, and consequently their yearly Income, will amount to very near 95 Millions, which is above 5 Times the Income of the Landed-Interest; and yet we have made the Landed-Interest pay for above these 40 Years, a Tax which is laid on them only, and which has amounted to at least a Third of the Publick Expence, besides their equal Share of all other Taxes.

By continuing thus to overcharge them, we shall make them all become dependent upon the Crown: Which will add a Power to it, that we ought to be much more afraid of, than of a few necessary Officers for collecting the Revenue. Whoever considers these Things, must soon resolve to agree to the Bill now before us.

After several other Speeches, the Question was put for committing the Bill, and it was carried for committing it, 40 against 25.

On *March 29.* the Order of the Day being read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the Salt Bill, the E---l of S-----y presented a Petition from several Merchants, Masters and Owner of Ships, &c. in *Liverpool*, setting forth, that the Reviving of the Salt-Tax would be a very great Prejudice to them in their Trade and Fishery; and particularly that the Importation of Herrings from Scotland would be the Ruin of that Trade among them, by which a great many poor Families would be brought upon the Parish.

Immediately after the reading of this Petition, the L---d D-----r presented another in the Name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and most considerable Merchants of the same Town of *Liverpool*, representing, that they had been informed, that on the 29th of that Month, being Sunday, several Persons had clandestinely signed a Petition to their Lordships, against reviving the Salt Duty; but that they were of Opinion, that

that neither the Reviving of that Duty, nor any Clause in the Bill that had been brought in for that Purpose, could be prejudicial to them, or to any Person in that Town, or, as they believed, in any other Part in England, and that therefore they would most readily and willingly acquiesce in whatever their Lordships should please to do in that Affair. Whereupon the first Petition was rejected.

After which the E---l of S-----y moved, that there might be an Instruction to the Committee for receiving a Clause, That Salt employed in the Improvement of Land should be exempted from paying any Duty; upon which the Question being put, it was carried in the Negative, 74 against 21.

The L---d G---r moved for an Instruction, that Salt employed in victualling Ships should be exempted from the Duty; which was also carried in the Negative, 75 against 21.

And the L---d B---st moved for an Instruction, That no Salt Officer should be a Returning Officer, or have any Vote at, or be allowed to intermeddle so as to influence the Election of any Member of Parliament; which was likewise carried in the Negative, 71 against 21.

Then it was moved to adjourn, which was carried in the Negative, 71 against 21.

After this the Bill was read distinctly throughout, by which Time it being Six o'Clock, it was thought too late to enter upon the Debate, and therefore it was adjourned till next Day.

Next Day the House resolved itself again into a Committee upon the said Bill, when the L---d G---t moved, That the last Clause of the Act of the 5th and 6th of William and Mary, entitled, *An Act for granting to their Majesties certain Rates and Duties upon Salt, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for securing certain Recompences, &c.* might be read; and the same being accordingly read, he mov'd, That the Opinion of the Judges might be asked, Whether or no that Clause was revived by the Bill then before them? But it being insisted upon by several Lords, that it was not proper to put the Question in those Terms, because that Clause never having been repealed, it was not therefore necessary to revive it by any express Clause; after some Debate about the Form of

stating the Question, it was agreed to be put as follows, viz. *Whether any Member of the House of Commons could directly or indirectly be concerned in the farming, collecting, or managing the Duties to be revived by the Bill then before them?* To which the Answer was, That they could not. In this Committee many excellent Speeches both for and against the Bill were made, and the Question being afterwards put for reading it a third Time, it was carried in the Affirmative, 79 against 26.

Next Day the Bill was accordingly read the third Time, whereupon there was again a warm Debate, and many eloquent Speeches made on both Sides. Particularly L---d C---t said,

That that being the last Opportunity he should probably have of offering any Thing against that Bill, he could not let it slip without declaring his Opinion against a Bill, which was, as he thought, the worst Bill that had ever been brought before that House: It was, he said, a most insidious Bill; there was a Snake in the Grass, which, if they did not crush, would, if he might use Scripture Terms, bruise the Heel of the Constitution, and consequently of their Lordships. That he would not repeat what he had before said, but he thought he had proved, it was contrary to the Interest of England and Scotland; destructive to the Land Interest, and to the Trading Interest; and, what was worst of all, that it would ruin the Constitution.

To this it was answered, That there was no Argument that had been brought for proving any Thing against the Bill, but what had been fully answered and refuted: That if there was any Snake in the Grass, it was in the Opposition that had been made to it; for that there had been no Reason publicly given, that could give any Pretence for making so strong an Opposition to a Bill, which in its own Nature was one of the most just, compassionate, and necessary Bills, that had ever been brought before that House.

At last the Question was put for passing the Bill, which was carried in the Affirmative.

Several Protests were enter'd on this Occasion; which see p. 110, &c.

[To be continued.]



*Universal Spectator*, Dec. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 216.

A RIDDLE: *In a recommendatory Epistle to a Lady.*

Madam,

A FRIEND now lodging with me designs to wait on you; but as he has yet no Acquaintance with you, I think it my Duty to inform you beforehand of his Character.

He has been educated under my Care, and has so mean an Opinion of his own Wit and Judgment, and so high a one of his Guardian's, that he follows my Directions in every Thing.

His Sobriety is wonderful; the nicest Dishes and most delicate Wines being his utter Aversion. His Modesty is so great, that unless your Servants introduce him, and your Ladyship (contrary to common Forms) makes the first Overtures, he will not dare to look you in the Face.

His Habit is very grave; and so is that of most of his Family; for tho' they are often very chearful, yet when in the merriest Mood, they are dress'd as gravely, as if going to a Funeral: Which should not be thought whimsical, because their Family being very numerous, they have Reason to believe that some or other of their Relations are every Day consign'd to their Graves.

You need not fear being too lavish of your Favours to him; for a Kingdom could not bribe him to discover it. And whatever Favours you may confer on him, will be esteem'd as done to

*Your most Humble Servant.*

P. S. That I may not deceive you, Madam, an ignominious Death seems to be entail'd on his whole Family; for tho' People are often fond of them at the first Meeting, such is the Cruelty and Caprice of Humankind, that even where no Crimes

have been proved against them, they are generally at length, either pull'd Limb from Limb, or sentenc'd to be burnt alive, or else condemn'd, if possible, to be treated in a more scandalous Manner. Sometimes, indeed, they live to a good old Age, and Pictures are taken of them; but then are always doomed to Confinement, or never trusted abroad, but in the Custody of a Gaoler; till they commonly fall at last into Consumptions, and die by piece-meal. After all, I am not asham'd to tell you, he is so near a Relation, as to bear the Name and Arms of your humble Servant aforesaid.

§. An extraordinary Sale of Goods.

BE it known to all Men by these Presents, That next Summer at Scarborough will be a vast Collection of fair Hands, brilliant Eyes, rosey Cheeks, nimble Tongues, ivory Teeth, ruby Lips, dimpled Chins, high Fronts, long Necks; together with snowy Breasts, handsome Legs, and other valuable Commodities, which for weighty Reasons are to be concealed till the above Merchandizes are first dispos'd of: Also large Quantities of kind Glances, languishing Looks, Sighs piping hot from the Heart, and scornful Sneers, that are only Copies of the Countenance: Likewise Ogles of all Kinds, from a side Leer to a full Stare; and Smiles of all Sizes, from a Simper to a broad Laugh: Also some innocent Frowns, which have now lost their first malignant Influence of killing Gentlemen on the Spot; with a rare Parcel of stolen Kisses, to be stor'd privately in the four Corners of the Warehouse; and several large Boxes of right native Scarlet Blushes, very proper for the Ladies to take with them when they go to bathe in the Sea.

There are also several antiquated Faces lately repair'd, and looking by Candle-light as good as new; also a Cargo of fine Compliments, either with

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with or without a Meaning; *Jokes, Quibbles, Puns, Repartees, and Conundrums*; together with *Vanity, Scandal, Affectation, Pride, Inconstancy*; and also some small Remnants of *Honour, Virtue, Discretion, and Good Breeding*, ready for the best A Bidders. Likewise some secret Drawers, replete with *Oaths, Curses, &c.* of all Sorts, ready for the Ladies to pick out and practise over, that they may be able to *rap them out*, on all proper Occasions, as roundly and as gracefully as any Field or Staff Officer.

This grand Sale will begin in May next (in the *Long Room* in the Town aforesaid) and continue above four Months. N. B. If any shall chuse to purchase a Quantity of right, neat, genuine *Good Humour*, they must give previous Notice, that Time may be allowed for procuring it, if any such Thing is to be found; otherwise a Stock of *Complaisance* only may be provided against the Sale, which in the Opinion of Courtiers, does mighty well, and comes a great deal cheaper.

*London Journal*, Dec. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 701.

*Remarks on a Pamphlet call'd A Philosophical Dissertation on Death, &c.* (See p. 408.)

THIS Author (says *Socrates*) has thrown together the worst Things that ever were said by the most infamous Men, concerning *Deity, the Universe, Human Nature, and Human Actions*; and in order to make men *kill themselves* when they are out of Humour, asserts, there is neither *Right* nor *Wrong*, but as *Power, Custom* and *Fashion* have ordain'd.

He has not indeed attempted to reason about *Morality*; but has brought together a vast Number of what he calls *Facts*, to shew, that different Nations had different and contrary Notions about every Instance of moral Good and Evil. We are

experimentally taught, says he, That all whatever we call *Bad*, as Murder, Theft, Adultery, Fornication, Incest, Sodomy, Rebellion, Treachery, &c. have always been, and still are, believed, by abundance of different People, to be good; as *Histories*, both antient and modern do testify, &c.

This most prodigious Assertion is so far from being true, that almost all *Historians* of any Credit testify the contrary: But, if they did testify it, it would be nothing to his Purpose, which is, to subvert the very Foundation of moral Good and Evil.

All the great Immoralities here enumerated, were absolutely condemn'd by the *Laws* and *Customs* of those very Countries he mentions, under the severest Penalties; for which we refer to the *Laws* and *Histories* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, &c. And as to the rest of this Author's applauded Immoralities, they stand either upon the Credit of *Jesuits* and *Missionaries*, whose Business it was to run down Human Nature, and disgrace the Morals of the *Pagans*, to justify the Necessity of their own Mission; or else upon the Authorities of *Sea-Captains, Renegadoes*, and other worthy Relators of monstrous Tales of more monstrous Men.

Our Author indeed, produces no Authorities, tho' all he says depends entirely upon Authority. He affirms, in the very Teeth of the *Roman Laws* and *History*, that *Adultery* was counted amongst them a commendable and virtuous Action; whereas there never was a Nation where it was more universally abhorred; and in most *Heathen Countries*, *Adultery* was punish'd more terribly than *Murder* itself.

He affirms, *Adultery* is permitted to all *Male Mahometans*; which is false: For tho' a *Mahometan* is allow'd 4 Wives, if he pleases, yet he is not allow'd to lie with other Men's; which only is *Adultery*.

He



He affirms, the *Cretans* held *Sodomy* in the highest *Veneration*. A very venerable Thing, truly! and, no doubt, rests upon as truly venerable an Authority, a *Priest* or *Jesuit*! He asserts also, that in *China*, *Adultery* and *Sodomy* are tolerated in the Men, by their *Laws*, both *divine* and *human*: Which is absolutely false, and destroyed by all Accounts of *China*, which deserve Credit. *Navarrette* says, 'That the *Chinese* so far excell'd *Christians* in all Kinds of moral *Virtue*, that the *Jesuits* were forc'd to conceal from them the Vices of *Christians*, lest it should hinder their Conversion.'

No Nations could ever make *Laws*, to encourage the *Invasion* of that Property, which 'twas the Design of those *Laws* to secure: Encouraging of *Theft* in *Sparta* is no Exception to this; because in that State there was, justly speaking, no Property; their very *Children* were the *Publick's*, and bred up at the Expence of the *Publick*.

As to *Human Sacrifices* among the *Heathens*, and *Womens* throwing themselves into their dead *Husbands* *Funeral Piles*; these Instances only prove the Power of *national* and *authoriz'd Superstition*, which consecrated *Murders* of some particular Kinds; for in all other Cases, where their *Gods* or *Religion* were not concern'd, they thought of *Murder* as horribly as ourselves. Nor are the *Murders* and *Massacres* caus'd by *Christian Superstition*, to be charg'd on *human Nature*; but are, generally speaking, the dreadful Effect of the wicked *Doctrines* of *Priests*; for where their *Religion* is not interested, these *Believers* are the same with other Men; and tho' they rejoice at the Death of an *Heretick*, will yet mourn at the Death of a common *Malefactor*.

Most of the barbarous Customs a-

mong the *Heathens*, flow'd not from *Nature*, but *Superstition*; and many of them which we count *savage*, were not absolutely so, but had a Mixture of *Goodness* in them; as when they buried the poor *helpless* Infant with the Mother dying in *Child-birth*: Better dead than left to starve, was their *savag'd good-natur'd Reasoning*! The Case was the same, when the *Astrologer* or *Priest* declar'd them to have *unlucky Stars*. How cruelly merciful were these poor unhappy, *Priest-ridden*, mistaken Creatures! The Account of these Things stands upon the Authority of very suspected Persons; but if they are true, they only prove that *Nations*, as well as *single Men*, have been deceiv'd.

Tho' the *Greeks* and *Romans* did sometimes expose their *Children*, it was not to perish by *Want* or *wild Beasts*; but to be preserv'd and taken Care of: For when Persons were very poor, or when thro' *Shame*, they durst not own a Child dishonourably got, they laid it compassionately in the *Highway*, or by the *River's Side* (as the famous *Jewish* Lawgiver *Moses* was) where People resorted, that the Infant might be found and provided for better than they were either able, or permitted with *Reputation* to do.

The utmost our Author has said, amounts only to this, That *superstitious Madmen* have committed *Murders* to please their *Gods*: And so his Argument lies here, That because *Madmen* kill *sober Men*; therefore *sober Men* have allowed the murdering of one another just as we please. No: These Things are only the dire Effects of gloomy *Superstition*; for the *Indians*, where *Priests* never came, have, if not innate, yet *natural* Notions (which God, the Author of their Nature, stamp'd upon their Hearts) of *Honesty*, of *Friendship*, *Gratitude*, *Benevolence*, &c. and practise them too in a very high Degree.

*Craftsman*, Dec. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 335.*Of Customs and Excises. (See p. 403.)*

**M**R. D'Anvers acknowledges that those *Taxes* which public *Necessity* has laid on *Importation*, have been a grievous Burden on the *British Commerce*; but hopes at least they will not be made still more grievous by any extraordinary Method of *Collection*.

He then proceeds to consider the *Letter-Writer's* Arguments against *Duties on Importation*.

*All Duties, paid the Government on Importation, cost the Government 10 per Cent. for prompt Payment.* These *Premiums* are not peculiar to the *Customs*, but allow'd, in some Proportion, on several *Excise Duties*; as those of *Salt*: And if this Allowance should be thought too large, the *Parliament* may reduce it, or take it away, without having Recourse to so desperate a Remedy as an *Excise*.

In many Cases, if the *Commodity* be enter'd for Re exportation, within a certain Time, the *Factor* claims a *Drawback* of the entire Duty; by which the *Nation*, as the *Customs* now stand, loses 10 per Cent. on divers Branches of our *Commerce*. If the *Letter-Writer* will particularize any Branch of Trade, in which the *Nation* loses 10 per Cent. as above; Mr. D'Anvers promises either to give him a particular Answer, or to acknowledge that it ought to be remedied, tho' not by an *Excise*.

But the chief Objection is, That numberless *Frauds* are committed, and that the clandestine Running of Goods is greatly encourag'd by this Method of paying *Duties* on *Importation*, and allowing *Drawbacks* on exporting them again. (See p. 388.)

I am ready to allow, says Mr. D'Anvers, that these Complaints of *Frauds* and *Smuggling* are too just; but I cannot agree with the *Letter-Writer*, concerning the Cause or

Cure of these Evils, which are owing rather to the Height of the *Duties* themselves. If therefore the same *Duties* are to be continu'd, or greater *Duties* shou'd be laid on the *Commodities* consum'd in this Kingdom, an *Alteration* in the Method of collecting them will not prevent the clandestine Running of Goods; which can be effected only by the Reduction of the *Duties* to such a Degree, that it will not be the Interest of any Persons to engage in a *Traffick* so hazardous to themselves, as well as prejudicial to the fair *Trader*.

It is pretended, that the extraordinary Powers of *Excise Laws* are become necessary to prevent *Frauds* in the Collection of *Duties*: But as severe Penalties are annex'd to *Laws* relating to the *Customs*, as ever were amongst a free People. The following is a small Sketch of them.

The Penalties upon Merchants, Masters of Ships, and others, concern'd in Trade, besides their being subjected to a strict Examination upon Oath, are Forfeiture of the Goods; in some Cases double the Value; Loss of the Ship, or Vessel, with all her Tackle; Fines of 100l. or 500l. Imprisonment; Incapacity to sue for any Debt; and the Proof generally, thrown upon the Owner, or Importer.

On the other hand, the Powers given to Custom-House Officers are very large. All the Subjects of the Kingdom are enjoin'd by Act of Parliament to assist them. They may break open Houses, Shops, Trunks, &c. to search for prohibited, or run Goods, by a proper Warrant, and in a proper Manner. They may enter on board any Ship, or Vessel, and break open any Cabbin, Trunk, or small Package; so that if the King is still defrauded of his Duties, it must proceed from the Corruption, or Negligence of the Persons employed, and not from Want of sufficient Penalties upon the Offenders, or sufficient Power in the Custom-House Officers.

And



And how can it be expected that *Excise Officers* should prove more honest in the Execution of their Trust than *Custom-House Officers*? There is a greater Scope for Knavery in the former than in the latter; and I make no Doubt that they know as well how to make the most of their Places.

We are farther told, *that the People might be considerably eas'd by this Alteration*; which is so far from being true, that I apprehend another bad Effect of *Excises* to be, that they will certainly bring a farther Burden on the People, equal to a *Tax*; for the Excise will put the Merchant to greater Expences by frequent Examinations of his Stock: To which we must add his own greater Trouble and Fatigue, Loss of Time and Interruption of Business; for which he will have a Consideration in the Value of his Goods, and this must be paid by the *Consumer*, where every expensive Load on Trade will center at last.

*Fog's Journal*, Dec. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 213.

On Trade.

IT is very difficult to divert the Course of Trade; so that when a Nation is once in Possession of any valuable Branch of Traffick, it will be very easy for them to preserve it. Two Things must concur to deprive them of it; bad Government within themselves, and some excellent Politicks in another Nation. One false Step, indeed, one Blunder in Politicks, will not do it; there must be a long Series of Mismanagement, and even an industrious Kind of bad Conduct to bring this to pass.

But yet it has very often happen'd: Arts and Manufactures have changed their Climates; they have fallen in one Country, and risen in another, according as Men of Honour, or Fools and Knaves have been in the Government of Affairs.

This leads *Fog* to a Quotation

from the *Travels of Cyrus*, who observing the Wealth, Plenty and Magnificence of *Tyre*, desires the King to tell him how he had brought his State so soon into so flourishing a Condition. At first, says the King, *Trade was perfectly free, and Strangers look'd on themselves as Citizens of Tyre; but in Itobal's Reign, such high Duties were rais'd, by the Avarice and Corruption of his Ministers, that all went to Ruin. But as soon as Bahal succeeded to the Throne, he endeavour'd to remedy these Mischiefs, and I have faithfully follow'd the Plan that good Prince left me. — I not only took off all exorbitant Imposts, but forbad all Monopolies of necessary Wares and Provisions. — All Sorts of Merchandizes pay me but a very small Tribute at entering, those manufactur'd by my own Subjects pay nothing at going out. The less I fetter Trade, the more my Treasures increase. The less dear Things are, the more are consum'd, and thereby my Revenues increase greatly beyond what they would be, by laying on excessive Duties. Kings who think to enrich themselves by their Exactions, are not only Enemies to the People, but ignorant of their own Interests. — One of the chief Accomplishments of a Prince is to know the Genius of his People, the Productions of Nature in his Kingdom, and how to make the best Advantage of them.*

Upon this *Fog* makes several Remarks; among the rest, A People, says he, under the Weight of heavy Taxes will scarce ever be able to extend their Commerce; for they trade under such Disadvantages, that they will find it even difficult to preserve what they have.

One of the most dangerous Things to Trade, seems to be the Practice of raising Money for the publick Service by mortgaging of Funds; and yet this Method is call'd raising Money without burthening the People.

It has been the Opinion of many wise Men, that no Government is so bad

bad in its Frame, but what will be tolerably easy to the People, as long as the Governours seek nothing but the Publick Good; and none so excellent, or so perfect in Speculation, but will be grievous when corrupt Men are at its Head.

*Daily Courant*, Dec. 2.

**T**HE *Craftsman* charges the ministerial Writers (as he calls them) with little low Attempts to confound all Taxes together.

If that is the Fault of his Adversaries, he himself (says this Writer) is guilty of just the Reverse; for he has endeavour'd to make Distinctions where there has been no real Difference. I will give one Instance out of 20 that might be produc'd.

He says, That the Laws of Excise restrain a Man from disposing of his own Goods, till he has paid the Duty for them; but that in Duties upon Importation a Man has full Power over his own Goods, as soon as he clears them of the Custom-House. (See p. 389.) I should be glad to know wherein the Difference consists: For my Part I have not Discernment enough to discover any at all.

He acknowledges the Custom-House must be cleared before a Man can have the full Power over his own Goods; and what is that but being restrain'd from disposing of them till the Duty is paid? Which he complains of as one of the peculiar Hardships of the Laws of Excise.

He concludes, that the long Parliament in Charles Ist's Time, in which he believes the *Craftsman* will allow there were a Multitude of brave Patriots, in their Ordinance for continuing the Duty of Excise, amongst other Reasons for continuing it, gives the following one, 'That Excises are by Experience found to be the most easy and equal Way both in Relation to the People and to the Publick; and therefore the

' Lords and Commons were resolv'd ' thro' all Opposition whatsoever ' to insist upon the due Collection ' thereof.'

*Free Briton*, Dec. 7. N<sup>o</sup> 158.

**A** **T**HE Writer in the *Craftsman* (says Mr. *Walsingham*) having publicly challeng'd the Author of this Paper, to answer his Declamations on Excises, I might easily be excus'd by the World, since every one, who understands the Subject, knows he has sufficiently answered himself. But since he so much wants to be taken Notice of, I shall observe, that there is no Foundation at present for the Debate. Until there shall appear some real Proposition of a new Excise, I don't think I am oblig'd to dispute with him on that Subject. In the mean Time, from the happy Specimen I have seen of his Abilities, I shall have no Fear of the Combat, whenever it may be proper for me to engage. I will stake my little Reputation, and forfeit all Credit, if it does not appear to him, and all his Friends, before this Enquiry is concluded, that he hath not yet been able to discover one Objection against an Excise, which might be of Weight in the publick Opinion. From a Want of Knowledge in this Matter, he urges the poorest, the lowest, and most groundless Objections against it. He instances many Complaints against Excises, which are not less true or forcible against the Customs themselves: And in general his Argument, if it deserves to be call'd an Argument, is not so much against Excises, as against Taxes of every Kind.

§. Of Good Nature.

**G**OOD Nature is an amiable Quality, and has highly distinguish'd the national Character of the People of England. The most refin'd Enjoyments of Existence are plac'd in social Pleasures; and with me there is



no Blessing on Earth preferable to those I derive from the peaceful Serenity and unruffled Passions of myself, and of my Acquaintance; to see Benevolence and Candour brighten every Aspect, while Good Humour and Contentment sweeten every Hour: These are Joys I carefully solicit, and wou'd not exchange on any Terms; Delights which I shall constantly endeavour to possess here, and hope I shall never be without through an endless Futurity.

Good Nature, like the fertile Soil of *Paradise*, yields Pleasures unknown to the Vulgar, and unproduced in the common World. I know not how we can relish Life without this Quality: Difficult as it is to submit to fatal Necessities, to alleviate heavy Misfortunes, to bear a Mixture of Good and Evil, or to be satisfied with less than we solicit; yet Good Nature is the healing Balm for all our Sores, and the powerful Charm for all our Cares.

Perplex'd with a Variety of doubtful Affairs, and allarm'd by the Fear of fatal Issues, in Good Nature we find the most valuable Ease; calm'd by the soft Breezes of this peaceful, this endearing Property, our more turbulent Expectations relax, and our Resolution fortifies against approaching Evils. 'Tis not on Earth that certain Joy, or punctual Justice is ever to be had; but we have within us a Remedy to Grievances of this Kind, which when we cannot surmount, we must endure in an easy and quiet Manner, whereby we at once relieve the Weight, and may in Time remove it.

While there is an Intercourse between Man and Man, they must mutually treat in a temperate, equal, and reasonable Way. There is a happy Medium in Minds, inspir'd by Humanity and Virtue; they always adapt themselves to Times and Circumstances, and procure great Advantages thereby.

In private Families, Harmony and Unanimity establish such Happiness as is valu'd at home, and envy'd from abroad. In Common-Wealths 'tis the same. Governors have a special Interest in the good Disposition of the People; and hence they ought to labour to please the Publick. Nor is it less popular Interest to be indulgent, humane and generous to Ministers of Power, Men taken from the quiet Seats of Life, and embarrass'd with most difficult Concerns; Good Nature and Tendernefs plead powerfully in their Behalf, whilst they act uprightly, and a People must be wanting to themselves, if deaf to such Intreaties. A. B.

*Universal Spectator*, Dec. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 218.

Of Dramatick Poetry.

THE Stage, well regulated, is of considerable Service to the Publick. The *Follies* of Mankind are best corrected by *Comedy*. People may be laugh'd out of little *Singularities* or *Affectations* in *Dress*, *Conversation*, or *Behaviour*, or a silly Course of *Extravagance* or *Gallantry*: But all the outrageous *Passions*, which are wicked in themselves, and mischievous to Mankind, properly belong to *Tragedy*, whose Business it is, by well chosen *Examples*, to set before us the dreadful *Consequences* of them.

As this is to be done in the most serious and solemn Manner, it requires all the Force of *Invention*, *Sentiment*, and *Expression*, that the *Genius* of the Writer, or the *Language* can furnish out; and ought not only to avoid every loose, immoral or profane Insinuation, but to shew on all Occasions a true Spirit of *Piety*, *Goodness*, and *Humanity*. *Virtue* should be pictur'd, as it really is, *glorious* and *delectable*; and *Vice* set forth in such odious Colours as may cause an *Abhorrence* of it.

To write a *Comedy*, little more is requisite, after the *Plot* is laid, than a tolerable Knowledge of Mankind, and

and of such *Characters* as are exhibited, together with a gentle *Stile*, and a few quaint *Turns of Wit and Humour*: But *Tragedy* demands a fine *Genius*, a true *Knowledge of the Passions*, a pure, untainted, virtuous *Mind*, a sublime *Way of Thinking*, a *Purity, Strength, and Elegance of Expression*, and with all these, a great deal of *Learning and unwearied Application*.

I can't help lamenting that *Mimickry, Farce and Buffoonery*, or poor insipid *Sing-song Stuff*, should be preferred to the noblest Entertainment, that the *Wit of Man* is capable of inventing. I hope, however, the *Publick Taste* is not so entirely vitiated, but it might be brought to relish a well-written *Tragedy*, if any such could be produc'd.

He then subjoins the Advice of a Friend of his to a young Gentleman, who was preparing to write a *Tragedy*. After an Observation or two on *Art and Genius*, he says, The Method now in Use may be drawn into a general *Receipt*, as follows;—Take a *Love-Story* (a *Passion* as improper as most) add thereto an immensurable Length of *Time*, *Characters* undistinguish'd by any Thing but the Names; *Scenes* here, there, and every where, *Entrances and Exits* without Occasion, *Descriptions* for the Sake of the Verses, *Soliloquies* to shew how well we can argue, and *Asides* because 'tis the Fashion; *Murders* without Reason, and *Punishments* without Justice, not forgetting a *Simile* in Rhime at the End of every Act.—Will a Man call such a Thing as this a *Play*? Take it to Pieces, 'tis any Thing; compound it, 'tis nothing.

He then recommends such *Books* as are fittest for the Purpose; as, *Aristotle's Poeticks*, with *Dacier's Version and Comment*; *Aristotle's Rhetorick*, which *Bp. Sanderson* us'd to say, made a Man of him; his *Ethicks*, *Longinus*, *Dionysius*, *Horace's Art of Poetry*, the *Greek and Latin Plays*, our own *Criticks and Poets*, &c.

*London Journal*, Dec. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 702.

*A Vindication of the Law of Nature, against the Philosophical Dissertation on Death, &c.* (See p. 454.)

A THIS Author has only borrow'd from, and spoke out plainly the natural Consequences of the Doctrines of the other Oppugners of Morality. He says, Many People declare Things to be honest, just and good; they recommend and practise them: Many others proclaim the same Things to be dishonest, unjust, and bad; they execrate and fly from them; these are Men, and so are the others: Who is to be the Judge between them? To whom are we to go, that the naked Truth may appear as to the Goodness or Badness of Morals? I do not know the Person, &c.

This Author wants to know, what are those Actions which all Mankind ought to practise. The Answer is, All those Actions which naturally tend to make them happy. If we are so constituted, that one Set of Actions tend to make us happy, and another to make us miserable, then there is a Standard for Action in Nature, to which every Man of Sense will bow down.

Experience teaches us, That all Men carry about them a certain Measure of Appetite, and a certain Capacity for Enjoyment; according to which if we go, we are happy; and beyond which if we go, we are miserable: From hence we come by the Ideas of Temperance and Intemperance; and hence it follows, That Temperance is a natural Duty, because a reasonable Action; which no Law, Authority, Custom, or Fashion can alter, or make unreasonable, any more than it can make Light Darkness, or Darkness Light.

G The Relation a Man stands in to other Men, is such, that the Reason of Justice flows from it. Every Man stands to others in the natural Relation of



of a Creature, who has a *Right* to the *Preservation* of his *own Person* and *Property*; if so, the *Invasion* is *unjust*. Without *Justice* and *Equity*, or the *mutual Acknowledgment* of one another's *Rights*, Societies must disband; all the *Pleasures* arising from *mutual Communication* and *Assistance* must cease; and we must live *single* and *solitary* (like our fellow Beasts of Prey) within our *Dens* or *Caves*, our little *Fortresses* or *Entrenchments*, *Sword* in *Hand*, as long as others stronger than ourselves will permit us to live.

This would be the deplorable Case, if we liv'd according to *Nature*, in our Author's *Sense*. But nothing has been made so bad an *Use* of as the Word *Nature*. Our Author says, *Nature* bids him, when *Desire* is *warm*, lie with any Woman he can come at; and when he wants *Money*, *Nature* bids him *rob*, *plunder*, or *murder*, as most suits his *Convenience* and *Safety*. But this is not the *Voice* of *Nature*; our *Passions* are only a *Part* of our *Nature*, and the *inferior Part* too, which ought always to be under the *Direction* of the *superior Part*, *Reason*; which all the great Antients meant by *Naturam sequi*. *Nature* is *perfect*; and the Great and Good Author of it has implanted a *Principle*, *Instinct*, *Light*, or *Guide* in every Creature, on purpose to *direct* all its *Motions* so as to produce the *greatest Good* to itself, thro' the *Whole* of its *Existence*.

The *Difference* of *particular Men*, or of *Nations*, about some Branches of *Morality*, proves only that *Nations*, as well as *particular Men*, may not in every Instance, see the *Rule of Right*, or seeing, may act against it.

All national *Institutions* must be try'd by the great *Law of Nature*. For Instance, whether *Polygamy* be *right*, or *single Marriage*. For, if the *Proportion* of *Males* to *Females* be as 14 to 13. (as the exactest Cal-

culators affirm) then it seems to be the *Design* of the Author of *Nature*; that one Man should have but *one Wife* at a Time.

And whether *Incest* or *marrying of Sisters* be *immoral* or not, must be try'd by its *natural Consequences*. For if *Brothers* might regard their *Sisters* as other Women, the *Consequence* would be, considering the *early* and *constant* Opportunities they had of being together in *private*, that few would come *chaste* into the Arms of their Husbands; whence 'tis just to raise such *Aversions*, and prohibit such *Marriages*.

To conclude: *Good* and *Bad*, *Honest* and *Disbonest*, *Just* and *Unjust* don't depend upon *Law*, *Authority*, *Custom*, or *Fashion*; but every *Law*, *Custom*, &c. is *Right* or *Wrong*, in exact *Proportion*, as it agrees to the *universal Law of Nature*, or *unchangeable Reason* of Things. SOCRATES.

Applebee's Journal, Dec. 9.

WE have already shewn, that *Excises* cannot prejudice our *Liberties*. Experience bears Witness that a Nation may enjoy its *Liberty* in the greatest Extent, and with the greatest *Prosperity* under *Excises*. This is apparent by the present *Power* and *Grandeur* of the *Dutch* our Ally; of whom Sir *William Temple* says, 'The chief *Funds* out of which their *Revenue* of 120 Millions of *Gilders* a Year arises, are, the *Excises* and the *Customs*. The first, says he, is great, and so general, that I have heard it observ'd at *Amsterdam*, that when in a *Tavern*, a certain Dish of *Fish* is eaten with the usual *Sauce*, above thirty several *Excises* are paid, for what is necessary to that small *Service*. The last, *Customs*, are low and easy, and apply'd particularly to the *Admiralty*.'

*Craftsman*, Dec. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 336.

Excises consider'd with Regard to the Practice of Holland, &c. (See p. 456.)

THE Letter-Writer tells us, that our Liberties can be in no Danger from Excises, but may be as safe in this Kingdom as in the Republick of Holland, under the same Regulations.

In answer to this; Tho' Holland may be justly call'd a free State, when compar'd with the absolute Governments round about it, yet I don't think it ought to be compar'd with the Constitution of Great Britain, as long as we are able to preserve it pure and uncorrupt in all its Parts.

Sir William Temple (whose Authority has been often quoted on both Sides) observes very justly, that *this stomachful People, who could not endure the least Exercise of arbitrary Power, or Impositions, or the Sight of any foreign Troops, under the Spanish Government, have been since inur'd to all of them in the highest Degree, under their own popular Magistrates; bridl'd with hard Laws; terrify'd with severe Executions; environ'd with foreign Forces; and oppress'd with the most cruel Hardships, and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government.*

But it is proper to enquire into the Reasons, which make the People of Holland submit to these Severities of Government. Now these arise, as the same Author informs us, from the Simplicity and Modesty of their Magistrates, in their Way of Living; which does not exceed the Customs of the common Merchants and Burghers of the Towns. — He tells us likewise, that the Way to Office and Authority lies thro' those Qualities, which acquire the general Esteem of the People; that no Man is exempted from the Danger and Current of the Laws; that Soldiers are confin'd to Frontier

Garrisons; (the Guard of Inland or Trading Towns, being left to the Burghers themselves;) and that no great Riches are seen to enter by publick Payments into private Purse, either to raise Families, or to feed the prodigal Expences of vain, extravagant and luxurious Men; but all publick Monies are apply'd to the Safety, Greatness, or Honour of the State; and the Magistrates themselves bear an equal Share in all the Burthens they impose.

Besides, I have been inform'd that the Dutch Excises differ very materially, in some Particulars, from those already establish'd in England; for in several imported Commodities (such as Wine, Tea, Coffee, &c.) every Man is tax'd at so much a Year, according to his Family and Manner of Living, by the Magistrates of the Town, in which he lives, unless he makes Oath that he uses none; but no Officers are allow'd to enter his House, which is look'd on as his Sanctuary; and consequently they have no Influence in the Election of Magistrates.

The Letter-Writer's Argument against Land-Taxes, from the Example of Holland, is still more fallacious; for the Circumstances of the two Nations are so vastly different, that no just Conclusions can be drawn from one to the other. Great Britain hath a Product within itself, not only sufficient to maintain its own People, but to spare for other Countries; whereas the Product of Holland will not maintain, as Mr. de Witt allows, one Eighth of its Inhabitants. Great Britain hath, besides its Product, Manufactures of various Kinds, Fisheries and Mines of Lead, Tin, Copper, and Coals, not only for its own Use, but exports them in great Quantities to foreign Countries; whereas the Dutch Manufactures are neither so many, nor so great: They have no Mines; and as they are obliged to purchase the greatest Part of the common Necessaries of Life from their



their Neighbours, so the Income, which maintains the Government, as well as enriches the People, arises chiefly from their Trade, Fishery, and Freight of Ships.

Nothing therefore can be more ridiculous, than to argue for Excises here from the Practice of Holland; where the vast Disproportion of Land to the Number of Inhabitants makes them absolutely necessary for the Support of the Government.

He then adds several Quotations from the great Mr. Locke; which conclude thus: *Struggle and contrive as you will; lay your Taxes as you please; the Traders will shift it off from their own Gain; the Merchants will bear the least Part of it, and grow poor last. In Holland itself, where Trade is so loaded, who, I pray, grows richest; the Landholder, or the Trader? Which of Them is pinch'd, and wants Money most?—A Country may thrive, the Country Gentleman grow rich, and his Rents increase, (for so it hath been here) whilst the Land is taxed; but I challenge any one to shew me a Country, wherein there is any considerable Charge raised, where the Land does not most sensibly feel it, and in Proportion bear much the greater Part of it.*

Fog's Journal, Dec. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 214.

**T**HIS Paper contains a Comparison, from Mezeray's History, &c. between the Reigns of Harry III. and Harry IV. of France; the first of which furnishes us with as many Examples of Folly, and publick Rapine, as the other does of good Conduct, Honour and publick Frugality.

All the French Historians call the Reign of Harry III. the Reign of Pimps, Flatterers, and Favourites. Mezeray says, Burdens and Impositions were laid upon the People, altogether unknown in Times before, unless now and then, in Cases of the most extreme Necessity, and even

then, only for a short Duration; but now Taxes were mortgaged, by which France was rendered unable to defend itself in Times to come. The Sale of publick Employments, and even Titles of Nobility, was now introduc'd: Offices in the Law were multiplied to the great Encouragement of Fraud and Chicane; the antient Militia, the natural Defence of the Kingdom, was neglected, and instead thereof a Body of standing Troops were maintained to keep the People in Awe. Luxury and all Kind of effeminate Vices were countenanced; and it must be left to wise Men to judge whether it be any Wonder, that France was so miserably reduced without foreign Enemies.

On the other Hand, Harry IV. whom Mezeray calls a great King, without Favourites, without Fraud, and without Revenge, found the State overwhelm'd with Debts; he was besides engag'd in long civil Wars on Account of Religion, and was at the same Time attack'd by foreign Enemies; yet in a few Years of Peace, he got the better of all these Difficulties, paid off all the publick Debts, and raised France into a flourishing Condition; and not only so, but when he was obliged to begin a War in 1610, France had 5 Years Provision in her Pocket for that War, without laying any new Tax on the People.

It will be asked, how could this be done? The Historian tells us it was not by laying on Excises, but taking them off; we must add, it was the good Fortune of this Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, at this Time, that there was a Man of Honour, the Duke de Sully, at the Head of the Treasury, who was neither a Pilferer in his Office, nor a Blunderer in the Cabinet.

Fog concludes with a Story of a Spaniard, taken from a Pamphlet he had before quoted. This Spaniard had a Statue erected to him in his own Country on the following Account:

A Town of *Castile* was besieged by the *Moors*, and hard pressed, and even the whole Country was menaced with utter Ruin, when it was proposed by some, that the King should raise a certain Sum of Money in a Manner that would be very grievous to the People; but those who proposed it, pleaded the extreme Exigency and Danger of the State, to induce others to give their Consent to it: But this noble *Spaniard* reply'd, if the Town be lost, no doubt many brave *Castilians* will lose their Lives: If all *Castile* be over-run, many more must unavoidably fall; but yet I live in a sure Hope, that a sufficient Number will remain to revenge the Deaths of those that shall perish, and to recover their Country; but if what is now proposed should be consented to, in my Opinion, there is no *Castilian* left. I have Money in my House, I will give it all: My Sword is here by my Side, I will lose the last Drop of my Blood in Defence of my Country: Let every Man but take the same Resolution, and we need not fear but we shall be able to preserve our Country, our Lands, our Honours, and our Liberties.

Free Briton, Dec. 14. N<sup>o</sup> 150.

*Temper of the People, with, or without a Leader.*

UNDER all Oppressions many cry aloud, but few rise up against them. The Interest of all Men is seldom the Business of any Man. If some one more forward than the rest do not put himself at the Head of the Herd, they all stand stupidly gazing: But when one has been so bold as to give the first Leap, the rest immediately follow: They take Courage from the Appearance of a Protector, tho' in themselves lies all the Strength by which he can protect them.

In this Confederacy of Men, they

are often led by accidental Sounds, and all their Passions fired by a Word let fall amongst them, when their Spirits are work'd up and prepar'd for extraordinary Emotions. Hence, as heavy Grievances are often born from the Want of a fit Leader, to head the Multitude against them; so the lightest Yoke is often thrown off by a factious Leader at the Head of a Multitude: By this Means they are led into Action, when it is their highest Interest to remain well satisfied, and enjoy Repose.

Whilst Society continues there will be Work enough for Reformation; and yet that Man who will not be easy himself, or suffer others to be so, 'till every Thing shall be *Mathematically right*, will be one of the first and worst Grievances in the Community. Nor should it be neglected, that the removing of some Evils must of itself introduce, or greatly hazard the Introduction of others more to be feared. Against these greater Grievances all our Vigour ought to be employ'd; but if our Attention be taken off from these essential Concerns, to reform trifling Corruptions, petty Complaints, and light Inconveniencies, what shall hinder the capital and formidable Grievances from prevailing among us? If an *Inundation* were approaching, would it be wise to spend our Time in quarrelling about *Common Sewers*? If an *Enemy* were on our Borders, should we be well employ'd in a Debate about *Turnpikes*? Or if any Thing should threaten all our Properties, would it be prudent to commence a Contest about the proper Qualifications for holding an Office? *It may be my Right*, said *Oliver Cromwell*, in a Speech to his Parliament, *It may be my Right to walk in my Field, or my Garden; but it will not be to the Reputation of my Wisdom, if I do so when my House is on Fire.*

*Grubstreet*



*Grubstreet Journal*, Dec. 14. N<sup>o</sup> 155.

*The Apprentices Looking-Glass.*

**A**S Industry is the Mother of Wealth, so Luxury can produce nothing but Poverty, which is the direct Road to Slavery. When Luxury creeps into the Minds of Men, they are immediately render'd lazy, expensive, and effeminate, incapable of all Business, and, in one Word, are useless Members of any Society to which they belong.

What threw me into these Reflections, was a Visit I lately made to a new Theatre, erected for the Entertainment of certain Wits, that inhabit the Purlicus of *Lombard-street* and *Billingsgate*, who were assign'd by their indulgent, but mistaken Parents, to Shops and Counting-Houses, when their Genius's led them to the *Muses* and *Parnassus*: But at length one Mr. G— arose, and resolv'd to set at Liberty these choice Spirits.

I was surpriz'd when I was told by one next me in the Pit, that *The Orphan*, or *The Unhappy Marriage*, was to be acted; for I expected something adapted to the Place and Audience, either the *History of Whittington and his Cat*, *The London Apprentice*, or *George Barnwell*.

Observing the Company coming into the Boxes, the Splendour of their Dresses made me think they were Persons of Quality; but upon Enquiry I found, they were all Citizens, among whom I observ'd one Beau dress'd like a Bridegroom, whom I had seen that Morning sprinkling a Shop, and paring his Master's Pavement in *Cheapside*.

I have often fancy'd, that Women were design'd for Ornament, because Nature has given them a Genius, which directs them, as it were, by Instinct, how to order themselves to the best Advantage. This I saw instanc'd in the several young Beauties in the Play-House, who appear'd with a Gracefulness

beyond what I expected. But the Men, on the contrary, endeavouring to be well dress'd, and to resemble the Beaux of *St. James's*, (as all Fools are fond of Imitation,) were the most awkward, unlick'd Cubs I ever beheld. Their Habits were indeed expensive, and fashion'd according to Art; but still you might discover the Apprentice, like the Ass under the Lion's Skin, notwithstanding all their Endeavours to conceal it.

As I have a great Respect for all young Lads, commonly known by the Name of Apprentices, who bear themselves well in their several Vocations; as young spruce Mercers, who do not impose upon good Country Ladies, in selling them old-fashion'd Silks, or, as they term them, Shopkeepers, for the newest *French* Fashions; for young Vintners, that are not too liberal in mixing *Alicant* in their *Port*, and Lime in their Sack; I have publish'd this, which may be intitl'd, *The Apprentices Looking-Glass*, desiring them to mend their Behaviour, lest they oblige me to animadvert upon them again, and publish their Characters at *Temple-Bar* and the *Royal-Exchange*.

*Weekly Register*, Dec. 16, N<sup>o</sup> 140.

*On English Tragedy.*

**I**N Dramatick Poetry the *English* have equall'd, if not excell'd, any Nation whatever. I shall speak chiefly of Tragedy, (says this Writer) it being the most solid and substantial Part of Writing; where our Thoughts are carried up sometimes to such an Height, that we see into the very Heavens, and are again let into the Secrets of the infernal Regions, and enjoy the Talk of the greatest Kings and Heroes: Where we are seduc'd, with a Kind of diverting Sorrow, into Tears, elevated into sublime and lofty Thoughts, and begin to fret and rave, tho' with all the Satisfaction imaginable.

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Of this Sort we have in our Tongue, several that are incomparable. In Mr. Dryden's *All for Love*, there is something throughout the Whole, so grand, so transporting, so majestic, that it may claim the Title of one of our noblest Tragedies.

Mr. Otway's *Venice Preserv'd* can never be admir'd too much. He had an universal Genius, and incomparable Parts, to work up a Plot so grand and noble, with such inimitable Exquisite-ness.

Lee had a sublime Genius for Tragedy, which shines particularly throughout his *Rival Queens*. They both complain of the Falseness of *Alexander* in the most lively Terms imaginable:

Roxana then enjoys my perjur'd love:  
Roxana clasps my monarch in her arms:  
Deats on my conqu'ror, my dear lord, my king,  
Devours his lips, eats him with hungry kisses:  
She grasps him all, she, the curst happy she.  
By heav'n! I cannot bear it, 'tis too much;  
I'll die, or rid me of the burning torture:  
I will have remedy, I will, I will;  
Or go distracted: madness may throw off  
The mighty load, and drown the flaming passion.

But as every one has his Imperfections as well as Beauties, Mr. Lee has his. In *Sophonisba*, or *Hannibal's Overtbrow*, he is tax'd for the awkward Usage of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*; particularly by Lord Rochester:

When Lee makes temp'rate Scipio fret and rave,  
And Hannibal a whining am'rous slave;  
I laugh, and wish the hot-brain'd fustian fool  
In Bulby's banus, to be well lash'd at school.

*Universal Spectator*, Dec. 16. N<sup>o</sup> 219.

#### *The Effects of wrong Education.*

IN the last Age, Fathers were content their Sons should be Boys before they were Men; whereas now-a-days People are for having their Sons Men as soon as they are Boys: Hence the former, like Fruits brought in due Season, became ripe, according to the Course of Nature; whereas our modern, forward Slips

put forth nothing but Blossoms, and continue a Kind of overgrown Children to their Lives End.

Learning was, as 'twere, the Watch-Word of the last Age, as Politenejs is of this; and from wrong Notions of both, it fell out, that they were almost as much over-run with Pedants, as we are with Impertinents.

The Eagerness with which the Gross of Mankind have run into the Extreme of what is call'd Politenejs, has produc'd worse Effects than any which flow'd from the phlegmatick Steadiness of our Fore-fathers in their Course of pedantical Education: For there is much less Difficulty in making a Pedant lay by his Folly, than to engage a Fop in the Pursuit of Wildom.

Men are often found to employ themselves in the Pursuit of what they were taught to be pleas'd with in their Youth. I have been led to the Belief of this from the Behaviour of some young Gentlemen of Rank, whom I have carefully observ'd, even from their Childhood; while they were yet within the Precincts of the Nursery, they were taught to admire fine Cloaths, or talk saucily to those about them, and to fall into grievous Fits of Passion if any Body attempted to cross them in their Humours: When they went to School, it look'd as if they had been sent there to study the same Lessons: Master had his lac'd Coat, his Silver Watch, and an humble Companion attended him, that he might never want one to abuse with Impunity: Then he was not to be too much plagu'd with Greek and Latin, for fear of breaking his Spirit, making him too bookish, and so fit for nothing but to make a Parson. How do these Sparks now behave themselves in the Prime of Life? In Religion they are Free-Thinkers [in the bad Sense of the Word] from Want of Consideration; in Politicks they are Slaves to the Party



Party whose Principles they were brought up in; in their *Morals* they are *Rakes*; and above all other Evils, detest *Solitude* and *Matrimony*; the first, because it would make them converse with themselves; and the latter, because it might lead them into the Company of a Person, towards whom they know not how to behave, viz. that of a *modest Woman*.

I should be unwilling to pass for the Advocate of *Pedantry*, or one who ridicul'd *true Politeness*. I am ready to confess that the first is always ridiculous, and the latter highly useful. But the greatest Soldiers, and the politest Men amongst the Antients, valu'd themselves most on what we esteem least, and instead of being ashamed of Learning, they thought it of all others the greatest Ornament.

I recommend it to the young Gentlemen of this Age to follow their Example; and the rather, because the Infirmities of old Age require it to render them supportable. An ignorant young Fellow is indeed a contemptible Character, but Folly in Men of Years, does not only render them despicable, but unhappy. Quillet, in his *Callipædia*, has the following excellent Lines to this Purpose:

*The fatal prospect I remember yet;  
Nor my past dangers can so soon forget;  
Nor those disorder'd torrents which oppress'd  
My swelling heart, and labour'd in my breast:  
When with fantastick pleasure's gay pretence,  
My tender reason was subdu'd by sense:  
When my warm wanton youth, which scorn'd  
A guide,  
Was hurry'd downwards by th' impetuous tide;  
When sanguine in my hopes, and fondly vain,  
I launch'd my slender vessel on the main;  
Studious of honour, and affecting fame,  
An enemy to life without a name:  
With hot pursuit, I posset to be great,  
And manag'd dark intrigues of court and state.  
But since ripe years, and times more fit for thought,  
Have my wild senses to cool judgment brought;  
Since age has conquer'd my unruly heat,  
I seek a learned ease, and wise retreat.*

London Journal, Dec. 16. N<sup>o</sup> 703.

Free-Thinking the only effectual Guard against Superstition and Immorality.

A THE *Superstitious* have supplanted and betrayed the Cause of Virtue; the *Enthusiasts* have exalted themselves above it; and the *Hobbiests* have openly asserted, that there is neither Virtue nor Vice, but as *Law*, *Authority*, *Custom*, and *Fashion* have ordain'd. (See p. 460.)

The *Superstitious* have made the Will of an infinitely wise and good Being to consist in believing *Propositions*, which were either against all our *Perceptions* of Truth, or above all our *Faculties*; and in practising certain Rites and Ceremonies, in which is no *real Worth* or *Goodness*, and which tend not in the least to promote it. They have set up what are call'd *Positive Laws* above *Moral*; i. e. *Laws* which are good for nothing, but as they are *subservient* to *Morality*, above those *Laws* which are *supreme in the Universe*. Thus has a modern *Divine* lately done: Such is his warm Love of *Mystery*, and thorough Hatred to *Reason*, that in his *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Catechism*, he has denied the most self-evident Proposition; which is, *That what is necessary to Salvation, must be plain, and obvious to the meanest Capacity*.

Farther, the *Superstitious* have taught *Expiations* for the greatest Villanies, by believing *Opinions* which none could ever understand, and by performing *Actions*, which none could ever see the Reason of; and so render'd *Virtue unnecessary*, by placing the *Favour* of God, and the *Happiness* of Men, in something which is not *Virtue*.

*Enthusiasts* have leap'd the Bounds of all *Reason*, *Justice* and *Common Equity*. Oliver Cromwell, when debating with the *Scots* about putting the King to Death, urged against their Reasons,

Reasons, That 'twas God's Work they were doing, and in that Case, no Regard was to be paid to the *Laws of Morality*; for which he gave several Instances out of the *Old Testament*.

This is the Case with the *Superstitious* and *Enthusiasts*; and the *Hobbiſts*, as was observed, have absolutely denied there is any ſuch Thing as *Virtue* and *Vice*, but as Men fancy.

Now, what but the full Exercise of our Reason on all Subjects, or *Free-Thinking*, is able to preſerve us againſt this Torrent of *Superſtition* and *Immorality*, ſo abſolutely deſtructive of all human *Happineſs*?

By *Free-Thinking* we are able to prove; that there is a Being infinitely *Wiſe*, *Good*, and *Powerful*, at the Head of Affairs in the Universe; who, being *abſolutely perfect*, and having no *Self-Intereſt*, could have no Views in making the World, but to communicate *Happineſs* to all his Creatures, according to their ſeveral Natures; and conſequently, that every ſubordinate rational Being, who does all the Good in his Power, carries on the Deſign of the Great Author of all Things, and ſtands intitled to that Share of *Happineſs* which he intended for ſuch a Creature.

By *Free-Thinking* we can diſcover the eternal Differences of Things in Nature, ſee the *Natural Standard* of all Actions, and view the *Reason of our Duty*, ariſing from the *Conſtitution* of the Creature, and his *Relation* to other Creatures.

By this *Standard*, every Doctrine of Religion, pretending to be from God is to be tried; for, when we have found a *Reason in Things*, and that the World is *rightly* made, we have then *Reason* to pronounce the Author of it *Wiſe* and *Good*; and ſo we ſtand capable of receiving any further *Revelation* of his Will, by comparing what is affirm'd of him, with what we already know of him.

By *Reason* we are alſo able to judge, whether *human Laws* be right or

wrong. Even *Magna Charta* itſelf, the old one in K. *John's* Time, or the new and much better one made at the *Revolution*, are not *right*, becauſe eſtabliſh'd by *Law*; but eſtabliſh'd by *Law*, becauſe they ſeem'd *right*. *Magna Charta* does not originally conſtitute *Right*; but that conſtitutes *Right* which made *Magna Charta* *reaſonable*: So that if any Part of the old or new *Magna Charta* takes away or abridges our *natural Rights*, then is that Part *unjuſt*, and ought to be alter'd or repeal'd.

Neither *Magna Charta*, nor the *Revolution* was perfect, any more than the *Reformation*. The Houſe of Lords in *Charles II'd's* Time, gloriouſly oppos'd the Bill for obliging them to ſwear, they would never make, or attempt to make, any Alterations in Church or State; well knowing there might ariſe juſt Occaſions for Alterations, and that our *Conſtitution* did not conſiſt in unalterable *Laws*, but in the Nature of our *Legiſlature*, and a Power lodg'd in King, Lords, and Commons, to make ſuch Alterations as *Reason* and the *Circumſtances* of Affairs require. The Author of a late Pamphlet, then, call'd *No Time proper* to repeal the *Teſt Act*, ſhew'd his Ignorance of the *Conſtitution*, as well as of common *Senſe*, to argue againſt the Repeal of it, from any paſt *Laws*: There may be *Reasons* for not repealing the *Teſt at this Time*, but there can be no *Reasons* againſt repealing it at all; unleſs there can be *Reasons* againſt *Equity* and *Gratitude*, againſt the *Fundamental Principles* of *Proteſtantiſm* and *Chriſtianity* itſelf. But why do I mention this Author, who appears in every Argument not above a *Cambridge Soph*, or a little tricking Attorney; and has been guilty of notorious *Injuſtice* to the *Miniftry*, whom he pretends to vindicate: For they are fully convinc'd, that the *Teſt Act* ought to be repeal'd.

Craftſman's



*Craftsman*, Dec. 16. No. 337.

**D**'ANVERS, in this Paper, concludes his general Argument against *Excises*. Having, says he, now gone thro' the several Branches of the Argument against *Excises*, I shall leave the Merchants to defend their own Cause, as they may judge proper, when the Particulars of the *Scheme* are more fully explain'd; and I cannot conceal my Satisfaction, upon observing that what I have written upon this Subject seems agreeable to the Sentiments of *those Gentlemen*; for the seasonable Resolutions, which, I am told, they have lately taken to oppose an *Excise*, under any Shape, by all dutiful and lawful Methods, are sufficient to justify the Course of these Papers, and to convince the World that I have not endeavour'd to alarm them without just Grounds.

He then recapitulates the Substance of his general Argument, contain'd in his preceding Papers. (See p. 389, 396, 403, 456, 462.) and concludes the Whole with observing, that if *this Scheme* [supposed to be now in Agitation] hath such a manifest Tendency to a *General Excise*, or to bring the People of *England* under the *Laws and Officers of Excise*, in Opposition to *Magna Charta* itself, and the fundamental Laws of our *Constitution*; if it is of such pernicious Consequence to the *Trade, Manufactures and Navigation* of this Kingdom, and cannot possibly answer one good or salutary End proposed by it; but, on the contrary, will put a finishing Hand to all our Misfortunes, and deprive us of our most distinguishing Privileges above other Nations; if this, says he, should appear to be the Case, we have Reason to hope that our Representatives in Parliament will reject the very Proposal of *such a Scheme* with the utmost Indignation; and if the *Projectors* should continue to pro-

secute it, in Defiance of Reason and against the general Sense of the whole People, I must leave the World to judge whether it will not be an undeniable Proof that they are more sollicitous after Power, than the Welfare of their Country, or the Honour and Happiness of his Majesty's Government.

*Free Briton*, Dec. 21. No. 160.

*The true Patriot.*

**M**R *Walsingham* taking into Consideration, how often the People are deceiv'd by *Sounds* without any *Signification*, is for examining Things freely, and setting them in a proper Light. The *Good old Cause* had formerly a wonderful Effect on the Minds of Multitudes; and of late Years the *Church* had the same Operation; tho' neither of them had any determin'd Sense, but were bandy'd about merely to serve political Ends, and the Measures of private Persons. In like manner, the *Patriot* and the *Incendiary*, a *publick Spirit*, and a *Traitor* to his Country, &c. have, of late Days, been made subservient to Persons and Parties, without any Regard to Truth or Justice. He proposes first to consider the Character of a *Patriot*.

By the *Patriot*, says he, I understand a Man sincerely devoted to the general Interest of his Fellow-Creatures, of an enlarged Understanding, and noble Inclinations, whose boundless Benevolence considers neither Country or Complexion, nor excludes those Denominations of Mankind, whose Persuasions and Principles differ from his own.

The first and surest Proof of a *Patriot* is his natural Inclination, experienc'd in private Life, and acknowledged by all who know him; if in this Capacity he shew worthy Qualities, be rigidly just, and delight to be generous. Such Qualities exerted for the Interest of a private Family,

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may readily be improv'd for the Happiness of a Country, and equally beneficial to Multitudes as to particular Men.

But a natural good Disposition is not alone sufficient; it is therefore a most happy Circumstance, and an unfailing Indication of a glorious Patriot, when to all the Principles of Truth, Justice, Candour, Benevolence and Moderation, Nature has join'd a known Sagacity, Penetration, and valuable Faculties, constantly apply'd to proper and useful Studies, whereby a large Stock of Experience has been acquir'd.

A Person of these Principles and Qualifications, is certainly a *Patriot*, whether his Station be in the higher or lower Scenes of Life; whether his Fortunes be ample or contracted; whether he be in Power or Favour; gracious with his Prince, or popular with his Country; or whether he be without Interest or Influence any where. For the Sake of Power, he will never attempt the Destruction of any Man; to gain Popularity, he will never sacrifice Integrity: The Consciousness of that, is infinitely more eligible to him than the Applause of admiring Multitudes. Popularity is the Boast of a Day, but genuine Virtue the Blessing of Eternity; 'tis Musick to the Soul in Agony and Death, and a Recompence to the Labours of a real *Patriot*, not in the Power of the World to bestow. As the Intentions of a *Patriot* are upright, so his Actions are uniform; he herds with no Party; he cabals with no Persons; he does not follow Courts for Favour, nor Ministers for Interest; he never joins their Measures for his own Advantage, nor makes an Opposition, either from base Repentments, or wild Ambition.

As I mean a Compliment to no Man, be he ever so great; and even with Regard to those I love and reverence most, am far from presuming to ascribe them Honours, which I

hope they will one Day be decreed by much more competent Judges; yet I would not be understood to recommend as *Patriots* any of those little factious shuffling Wretches, who have so often impos'd on the World Sedition for a publick Spirit, and courted the Esteem of the Vulgar by Actions abhorr'd by all Men of Honour.

*Weekly Register*, Dec. 23. No. 141.

*Advice to old Ladies.*

**T**IM Flutter thinks Ambition is more proper to the Female Sex than to the Men. My Lady *Betty Modish*, says he, has now by a Brace or two of Years over-top'd Forty, and yet she dresses like, and uses all the Airs of a Girl of Fifteen, and has the Ambition of thinking herself all Perfection, and her Beauty not in the least impair'd by the rough Hands of Time. She has certainly play'd the greatest Tyrant, over our Sex, and has set the highest Value on her Favours. I therefore take the greatest Pleasure in the World to mortify her: In her Company I talk of nothing but old Age, faded Roses, &c. And t'other Day, I took Occasion to squeeze into her Hand the following Translation of an Ode of *Horace*, since which she shews the utmost Aversion to me.

*Fit, Chloe! fie! in truth, 'tis time;  
(Consider you are past your prime;  
There's no recalling youth when past,  
And ev'ry day may be your last.)*

*'Tis time to put an end to all  
Your sports, the masquerade, the ball,  
Play-house, Spring-gardens and Vaux-hall.  
But Lydia goes --- I doubt you'll say; ---  
Suppose she does, she's brisk and gay;  
You're in December, she in May.  
Your daughter Molly must not trace  
Your foot-steps, but supply your place. ---  
She's too in love, and lovers may  
Often indulge an holy-day. ---  
Let her have freedom; let her rove,  
And taste the blooming sweets of love.  
But you go! prithee stay within,  
Command your handmaids, sit and spin.  
Leave off to paint your visage o'er,  
And recollect you're forty-four.*

*Universal*



*Universal Spectator*, Dec. 23. No. 220.

*Character of Captain Frontly.*

**C**LARA, writing to her Uncle from *Scarborough*, July 26. says, My dear *Mira* left this Place about ten Days ago. The Parliament-Man who franks this, was supposed to be highest in her Esteem: But a new Rival makes him more uneasy than all the rest of her Admirers. This Gentleman pretends to be no more than what he is call'd, a *Captain*. He boasts of no Fortune beyond his Commission: The Gentlemen say he is well born and well bred, and speak of *Ned Frontly* as an agreeable young Fellow: His Person is well made, and he dresses genteely, without Singularity or Affectation. He is allow'd to have some Wit, and a good deal of Sense. His Language is decent and easy: He has a general Acquaintance with the best of Books and Men; and if his Conversation never soars aloft, it never sinks into Trifles. In his moral Character he aims at being perfectly inoffensive: He is just to all Mankind, and observes an exact Decorum in all his Oeconomy. Those of the *Army* say, he is a gallant Officer, and a Man of Honour; whilst all others as readily agree that he is truly good-natur'd.

But for all this, Mr. *Frontly* is no Favourite of the Ladies. They charge him with being the most impudent of all his Sex; that he presumes never to be in Confusion, and defeats all the Artifices of the Fair to give him Pain. A Lady told me one Day, that she could not wish to have a Lover more unchangeable than Capt. *Frontly's* Countenance: He has been often admitted into Company for the Sake of trying little Experiments, to melt down his *Brass* (as a merry Creature call'd it) and many Stratagems have been form'd for reducing him to modest

Terms; but he has hitherto escaped untouch'd and invulnerable, and turn'd all these Hostilities into Mirth and Divertisement.

Impudence (says *Clara*) is a home Charge, which cannot easily be made good against a Man, who never says or does a Thing that comes near the Borders of Rudeness. The Captain's Assurance (to give it the softest Name) is thoroughly civiliz'd; he has an intrepid Way, which, in his own Profession, would be justly reckon'd a Mark of true *Heroism*: His Intrepidity is temper'd with Patience, and a Steadiness in suffering; it proceeds from a Resolution which has all the meritorious Appearance of sincere Constancy.

*Fog's Journal*, Dec. 23. No. 216.

*Of the Law of Nature, and humane Laws.*

**T**HE Duties of a good Citizen [or Member of Society] are commonly contracted within the narrow Bounds of what the Laws of the Country require, and the Observance of the Laws is look'd upon as the *non plus ultra* of an honest Man. But the wisest Legislators were of a very different Opinion.

From the Beginning of Time there have been Ideas, less or more distinct, extensive and just, of a Law founded in the very Nature of Man, taught by Reason, agreeable to the true Interests of Mankind, perpetual and irrevocable, which is the same at *Rome*, at *Athens*, every where, and in all Ages; from which no Person can be dispens'd, and which no Power has a Right to abolish, or to change in Whole or in Part. (See p. 460.)

There have been unjust Laws, not only among the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Macedonians*; but also at this Day among some People of *Asia*. The unmerciful Severity of the *Athenian* Legislator,

R r r 2

*Draco,*

*Draco*, who had decreed the Punishment of Death for the least Faults, as well as the greatest Crimes, gave Reason for the Saying, That his Laws were written with Blood. The *Lacedemonians* permitted Stealing and Adultery. Run over the *Theodosian* and *Justinian Codes*, you will find there many inhuman and unjust Laws, against Persons whose Crime consisted only in not being of the same Opinion with the stronger Party in speculative Notions. Has *Paganism* ever produced any thing more tyrannical than the *Courts of Inquisition*?

No human Law can withdraw any one from under the natural Empire of Virtue; whatever she requires is always indispensable, whether Civil Laws give their Authority or not; whatever she forbids is always unlawful, however it may be permitted by the Civil Laws, of which the best leave often many vicious and dishonest Actions to the Liberty and Conscience of every one.

*Seneca* says, *It is a small Matter to be a Man of Probity, so far only as the Laws require; how much farther doth not the Rule of our Duty go beyond that of the Law? How many Things doth not natural Affection, Humanity, Liberality, Justice, and Plain-Dealing require, of which there is nothing in the Civil Laws.*

*Applebee's Journal, Dec. 23.*

*The Consequences of a Land-Tax.*

TAXES upon Commodities consumed in mere Luxury, fall only upon the *Rich*; the *Poor* are not affected by them: No Man can complain of them, since if his Circumstances will not permit him the Use of them at the current Price, he may avoid them. But when heavy Taxes are laid upon the common Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, no Man can escape them.

The Earth itself can never be

taxed, but its Fruits must bear the Taxation. If then the Landlord will raise his Rent according to the Expence he pays to the Publick, the Tenant must raise the Produce of his Land to pay such Taxes. The *Corn, Malt, Flesh, &c.* must pay it; from whence it appears, that a long and grievous Burden on the Land must ultimately be raised out of the common Necessaries of Life.

If we suppose, in Case of such a Land-Tax, the Landlord cannot raise his Land, then if the Nation grows rich and populous, or the Expences of the State any wise encrease to the Value of the Land, the Lands must be swallow'd up by the Crown, and the Constitution inevitably destroy'd.

*Daily Courant, Dec. 23.*

*Some Observations in Favour of Excises.*

THIS Writer first observes, That some of those Commodities which are now chargeable with Duties at the Custom-House, when they fall into the Hands of the Retailer, are liable to be, and very often are, most shamefully adulterated, and their Quantities increased by pernicious Mixtures; that this does not only lessen the Revenue, and injure the fair Trader, but is also most fatal to the Health of the People, who, if they are not directly poisoned, often intail on themselves such miserable Distempers, by such abominable Practices, as very speedily hurry them to their Graves; which is another great Mischief which an Excise upon those Commodities that are subject to such Frauds would, and which nothing else can, prevent.

The next Thing he observes in Favour of Excises is, that all Fines and Forfeitures incurr'd by a Breach of those Laws are appropriated to the same Purposes as the Duty itself is, and not applied to the Use of the Civil List, as other Forfeitures are.

The



The last Thing he observes is, that as it has been found by Experience, that the Produce of the *Revenues* lately put under the Management of the Office of *Excise*, has been greatly augmented, since such Alteration in the Manner of collecting them; there is no question, but when the Duties on some other Commodities are thrown under the same Regulation, such considerable *Savings* will accrue to the Publick thereby, that the Parliament will be enabled to give such Ease to other Branches of the Revenue, as will take off all the principal Clogs and Incumbrances upon Trade; which the Exigences of the Nation have never yet admitted to be done, and which it is highly probable no other Method will so effectually and speedily do.

The 1st Day of November, 1732.

A T a numerous Meeting of Gentlemen and Ministers of the Counties of *Oxon* and *Bucks*, assembled this Day at *Thame*, in the County of *Oxon*.

The Rt. Hon. the *Ld. Visc. Barrington*,  
Chairman.

Jacob Dell, Scribe.

*Resolv'd, Nem. Con.*

1. That it is the Opinion of this Meeting, that the Repeal of the *Corporation* and *Test Acts* will greatly conduce to the Honour of Religion, to the Security of the Government in his Majesty's Royal Person and Family, to the Strengthening of the Liberties of the Subject in general, and to the increasing and further corroborating the Liberties of Protestant Dissenters in particular, and to the better uniting of Protestants one with another.

2. That the ensuing Sessions of Parliament is in our Apprehension the most likely and proper Season that we can ever promise ourselves for obtaining the Repeal of these Acts.

3. That it is the Opinion of this

Meeting, that as nothing can equally affect the Protestant Dissenting Interest every where, like to the obtaining or not obtaining these Repeals, so there can be no proper Equivalent given us instead of them, and that the accepting any thing which may carry the Appearance of such Equivalent, either in the Opinion of the Giver or Receiver, must be, at this Time, of the most pernicious Consequence to the Interest and Reputation of Protestant Dissenters.

4. That it is the Opinion of this Meeting, that it is necessary for the Protestant Dissenters to endeavour to obtain these Repeals, with all Unanimity and Vigour, not only for the Purposes aforesaid, but in order to prevent the Dissenting Interest from being generally divided.

5. That in order to obtain the Repeal of these Acts, each of us do promote it with the utmost of our Power, by our Conversation, Correspondence, and Influence; and particularly, according to our present Apprehension, none of us will promise or give a *Vote* at the next Election for any Candidate that shall have refused to vote for the Repeal of these Acts, or shall not give us proper Assurances to vote for the Repeal of them whenever it shall be moved, in case such Repeal be not moved and obtained in the House of Commons before the next Election; and that we will vote for such as have voted for the Repeals of these Acts, and we have Reason to think continue in the same Opinion, or shall give us proper Assurance to vote for them; and that we will take all proper Occasions to let it be immediately known that this is our Resolution.

6. That the Rt. Hon. *John Lord Viscount Barrington*, and *Benjamin Burroughs, Esq;* be desired to attend the Meeting of Gentlemen in *London* on the 9th Instant, and every other Meeting of Dissenters relating to these Repeals, and to represent this to be our Sense in this Affair, and to acquaint

acquaint them, that they are ready to come into any Measures that *they* shall think fit and proper, to attain so desirable an End; and to desire them, in the most earnest Manner, to concur with them therein.

7. That the several Boroughs of these two Counties where there are Dissenters, do in their *own Names*, and in the Names of *any other* that will join with them in their Neighbourhood, prepare and sign Petitions to the House of Commons, for the Repeal of these Acts, and lodge them with the Right Hon. John Lord Viscount Barrington and Benjamin Burroughs, Esq; or one of them, till they see a proper Opportunity to deliver the said Petitions to the Representative of each Borough, or to other Members, to be presented to the House of Commons, in Concert with others that shall have the like Petitions lodged with them.

*Subscribed in the Name and by the Appointment of this Meeting,*

Jacob Dell, Scribe.

*London Journal*, Dec. 23. No. 704.

*A Discourse on the Test-Act, in Answer to a late Pamphlet, &c.*

SOCRATES having said the same Things concerning Religion and Government being absolutely distinct, as were said in a former *Journal*, (See p. 344.) proceeds thus:

This being true, it follows, That not only *no Laws with Penalties* should be made about Matters *merely religious*; but that no *Sett of Men* should be put under any Discouragements, upon Account of any *religious Principles*; I say *religious*, for I don't call the Doctrines of the Church of Rome, *religious Principles*, because they are utterly *subversive* of all *religious and civil Obedience* too; and in *Protestant Countries* they have no Right to Protection, because they cannot from *Principle* pay *Allegiance*: Nor are they properly *Subjects*; for they own,

under the Penalty of eternal Damnation, a *Foreign Power*, superior to that Power from which they receive *Protection*; and they can also, whenever the *Good of the Church* requires it, have a Dispensation for the *Denial* of every *religious Principle*, and the Breach of every *moral Duty*: They can dethrone Princes, absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, and consecrate Murders, Massacres and Assassinations.

Against *Papists*, then, *Test-Acts*, or any Acts to defend us against their *Policy and Power*, are justifiable: But *Acts* to disqualify *Protestant Dissenters* from sharing the *Civil Rights* (not the *Favours*) of the Government, are absolutely *unreasonable*; because they have no *Principles* nor *Practices* against a legal *free Government*; and they have proved themselves as good Subjects as any in the King's Dominions. It is therefore *reasonable*, that the *Test-Act*, with relation to them should be repeal'd. (See p. 344, G.) The *religious Reasons* for repealing it I leave between two *Rev. Divines*, (now both *Bishops* of the Church of England) whom the Author of the Pamphlet call'd, *The Dispute adjusted*, or *No Time proper*, decently calls the two *Combatants*, or Figg and Sutton in Divinity.

The Author (See p. 468.) has four *Reasons*, as he calls them, against the *Test-Act* being ever repeal'd. 1. Because *Society or Government* itself requires an *Abridgment* (by which *soft Word* he means *Deprivation*) of *Natural Rights*. 2. The *Repeal* of the *Test* is inconsistent with the *Safety* of the Church. 3. The *Revolution* and *Act of Union* are against it. 4. The *Dutch* are against it, (sad Case truly!) for they employ none in *Civil Affairs*, but those who are of the *Establish'd Church*.

The first Argument arises from a wrong Notion of *Natural Rights*. *Natural Rights* are reasonable Rights, or all those which arise from the *Nature and Reason of Things*. These only



only are *Rights*, nor are there any other in the World. Men talk indeed about *Natural*, *Civil*, and *Religious* Rights as distinct Things; but *Religious* Rights are *Natural* Rights, and all *Civil* Rights are, or ought to be so. Just *Civil* Government is only a *Recognition*, *Establishment*, and *Security* of our *Natural* Rights; and to suppose that *Civil* Government may justly *infringe* *Natural* Right, (which is *Divine* Right) is to suppose that it may *reasonably* do what is against the eternal *Law* of *Reason*.

The erecting one *Common* Power, for the *Security* of one another's Rights, (See p. 285.) did not alter the *Nature* of Rights, or make them more or less. The Instances our Author brings to the contrary, prove nothing: For if every Man has a *natural* Right to vote for Members of Parliament, then the *Law*, which limits it to *Freemen* and *Freeholders* of 40s. a Year, is an *unjust* Law. This Law arose from our antient State of *Vassalage*; the old *English* were all *Vassals*, either to the King or the Barons; and so having no *Property*, and their *Persons* not being their own, they had nothing to represent. But when by *Industry* and the Growth of *Trade*, some were able to rescue themselves, and had got 40s. a Year, (equal to our 20l. a Year) they became *Independent*, and having *Persons* and *Properties* to represent, had a Right to chuse *Representatives* to take care of both. If the *Law* requireth so much a Year for a Person's being chosen a Member be *just*, it arises from the *Reason* of Things; if *unjust*, it should be *repeal'd*.

Writers on Government have talk'd much about *transferring* *natural* Rights. But whatever Rights can be *transferr'd*, no Man can *give up*, or *transfer* his Right to *worship* God according to his *Conscience*; for which Reason no Government can justly make Laws with Penalties about *Religion*. This leads us to our Author's

2d Argument, viz. That the *Repeal*, &c. is inconsistent with the *Preservation* of the *Church*.

His Reasoning is equally calculated for an *Inquisition* in *Spain*, as for *Exclusion* from *Civil* Trusts in *England*; for it stands on this Foundation, That the *Church* is the *State*, or an *essential* Part of it. Our Author knows who preach'd a late famous Sermon to the same purpose, *No Bishop, No King*. But all this is false. The *Church* is not the *State*, nor an *essential* Part of the Constitution; for the *Constitution* of *England* is a *Civil* Constitution, which has thought fit to establish a *National* Church, but not an *unalterable* one. (See p. 344.)

What he says of the *Danger* of the *Church*, by letting in Men who count *Communion* with it *sinful*, is ridiculous; for if ever the *People* of this Kingdom should come generally into an Opinion, that the *Church* ought to be changed (and the Majority of both Houses are of the same Opinion) then it ought to be changed.

But none but Madmen can apprehend, from the present Temper of the Nation, that the *People* should come to think *Church-Communion* *sinful*: This Author has more Reason, if he looks about him, to fear, that *Communion* with any *Church* should come to be counted *useless*, rather than *sinful*: Ay, there's the *Danger* now, not from *Enthusiasm*.

Take off the *Test*, the *Danger* of the *Church* would be at an End; because the *Dissenters* having nothing more to desire, and being easy in themselves, would never disturb others.

(To be continued.)

§ SEVERAL Pieces were publish'd in the Papers, especially the *Courant*, in relation to the *Dissenters* endeavouring the *Repeal* of the *Corporation* and *Test* Acts. Among the rest, the *Whitehall Evening-Post*.

of the 16th, considers the Original of those two Acts, and compares the Circumstances of those Times with the present.

These Laws were made in the Reign of a Prince, who was himself a conceal'd *Papist*, and left the chief Administration of Affairs in the Hands of his Brother, a profess'd one; and so far as the Court was concern'd in them, the Design of those Acts was to divide and weaken the *Protestants*, and strengthen the *Papist* Interest.

The *Corporation Act*, besides the secret View of the Court, was the Effect of that Party Rage, that still subsisted after the Civil Wars, notwithstanding the many Promises of a perfect Oblivion; and was designed to new mould the Corporations, and keep out of the Magistracy those who were supposed to be disaffected to the Government; under which Character the *Dissenters* in general could never be included, since but a Year before, the King himself told the Parliament, That without their Concurrence, neither he nor they had ever been suffered to meet.

As to the *Test Act*, it was contrived by the *Protestant* and Country Party in Parliament, upon the Discovery of the Designs of the Court to introduce Popery, and therefore was intended to tie up the King and his Brother's Hands from bestowing Preferments on the *Papists*; for which End, as I have been well inform'd, they propos'd only that Part of the *Test*, which requires the abjuring Popery. The Court Party finding it impossible to oppose that Design, attempted to clog it, by joining with it the Sacramental Test; hoping thereby, either to prevent the Bill's passing, or however to weaken the *Protestant* Party, by putting a Brand upon, and excluding a considerable Number of the *Dissenters*. It was on this Occasion that Alderman Love made that celebrated Speech, in which he desired,

that no Regard to the *Dissenters* might hinder the passing a Bill so necessary at that Time, to secure the Nation from Popery. For which Self-Denial of the *Dissenters*, great Assurances were given by the *Church Whigs*, that a due Regard should be had to them at a proper Time; which Assurances were repeated, when the Revolution was in Agitation, but soon forgotten when the Danger was over. King William indeed recommended to his first Parliament, the capacitating all his *Protestant* Subjects to serve him; but this reasonable Request of his was oppos'd by the same Persons, who oppos'd his being King.

The *Courant* of the 15th expostulates with the *Dissenters* concerning the Repeal at this Time; says, the proper Season for it was at the Beginning of his present Majesty's Reign, and at the Opening of his first Parliament; and would have them defer their *Petition* 'till the Beginning of the next Parliament. This is answer'd in the *Daily Journal*, and *Whitehall Evening-Post*, which are for the present Time. The *Courant* of the 21st says, The most considerable among the *Dissenters* have already declar'd, and that in a publick Manner, it was their Opinion, that the present was not a proper Time. To say Truth, no Man who considers it thoroughly, and is a Friend to the *Dissenters*, can say it is. And every one must allow, that a Miscarriage, in case they should attempt it, would but rivet their Chains the faster. The *Hyp-Doctor* of the 26th submits it to the *Dissenters* Consideration, Whether the most probable Method of knowing the Time proper for the Explanation of the *Test-Act* in their Favour, is not to consider and determine that Time now in Conjunction with the King and his approved Servants. The *Courant* of Decemb. 28th has an *Expostulatory Address* to the Committee, and to the *Deputies* appointed to receive their



their Report; tending to dissuade them from pushing the *Affair at this Time*.

*Daily Courant*, Dec. 25.

*A Plea in Behalf of the Stage.*

**W**ANT of Performers is the present grand Objection to dramatical Entertainments. 'Tis true, Death has depriv'd us of *Wilks* and *Oldfield*, and Misfortune of the inimitable *Booth* and *Porter*; but is the *Stage* to die or be deserted with them? No surely, this is no Reason for discouraging those that remain. *Cibber* is still amongst us, with all the Merit that ever was found in the most accomplish'd Actor; and his Son bids fair to inherit his Father's Praise. Besides, the Audience is frequently apt to be too severe on those who succeed to their *lost Favourites*; and a thin Pit, and empty Boxes, have had an ill Effect on good Players, but never mended bad ones.

But 'tis not a mere Want of Performers that occasions the Disrelish for Plays; but a growing Affectation to other less valuable and less elegant Amusements.

Let me however recommend the *British Theatre*, as a noble Object of *British Encouragement*. We have now liv'd to see *Gentlemen* mingled with *Players* in the Management; a Circumstance long desired by the Town, and what we may reasonably suppose will produce the best Conduct imaginable: But we should consider their peculiar Hardships in purchasing Shares at a great Expence, when a weekly Loss is added to the original Purchase. Beside, the Case of *Mrs. Wilks* deserves the utmost Concern; the humane Temper and universal Beneficence of her late Husband having left her little besides his Share in the Patent for her Support.

It ought farther to be consider'd in Favour of the *Theatre*, that the Novelty of the late Project in *Goodman's-*

*Fields* has not a little contributed to embarrass their Affairs: Those that were before too vain of their own Merits, and waited only an Opportunity to distress the Company, took the Hint immediately, and, for a Trifle Advance, deserted the Service that had bred them up. Their Example may have a bad Effect on those that remain; 'tis to be fear'd the rest may grow mutinous too; and, upon the smallest Pique, remove as the former. So that in Time the *Theatre Royal* itself (without a timely Interposition in its Favour) may be oblig'd to change its Situation; and when People of Distinction would see a Play, they must travel for it as far as *Goodman's-Fields*.

*Grubstreet Journal*, Dec. 28. N<sup>o</sup> 157.

*A Project in Favour of the Poor.*

**J**EREMY HINT, considering how the Fashion of playing for Money prevail'd, was thinking how to make it contribute to the Benefit of the Poor. He proposes to have a wooden Box fix'd up in every House, with a Slit in the Lid, which may contain all Money that may be lost from Time to Time, at Cards or any other Game. He would likewise have a proper Person appointed in every Parish to keep the Key, and to collect weekly from each House, what may have been dropt into the Box, in order to distribute it among the Poor every Sunday. This he is persuaded at the Year's End, would amount to something pretty considerable. He is sure there can be no true Pleasure in carrying home from a Friend's House a Guinea or two, which perhaps can be but ill spar'd to be thrown away only on the Prevalency of a Fashion.

This brings to his Mind the following Story. A Friend of his, that he might not be esteem'd unfashionable in a Family where he visited, was oblig'd to play pretty high.

high. He generally won, and us'd to carry off something considerable. In some Time it happen'd, that the Master of the Family was extremely embarrassed in the World; when one Day he took my Friend apart, says he, and broke the whole Affair to him. He was very much touch'd at so moving a Circumstance. Upon going home, he open'd a particular Drawer in his Cabinet, where he nightly deposited the Sums that he won from Time to Time; and returning the next Day to his Friend, repaid him only what the Family had idly lost at Play; which gave him an Opportunity of recovering his Credit in the World, and was the happy Means of saving a whole Family from Ruin.

*Free Briton, Dec. 28. N° 141.*

*Difficulties attending an Administration.*

**I** have often reflected (says *Walsingham*) on the hard Fate of *Men in Power*, that even the worst are tax'd with more Evils than ever they committed, and the very best are accused of Crimes which they never thought of.

How many insuperable Difficulties must attend every Administration, when in the Multitudes daily surrounding them, so few are disinterested, steady or sincere; when so many, whole Opinions they ask, have personal Views, and private Ends, whereby they govern all their Sentiments, and in Conformity to which they model their Advice!

Reproach and Scandal naturally fall upon a Minister, from every Grievance or Iniquity discover'd in Society. All the Mistakes, Corruptions and Oppressions, committed by Inferiors, are immediately transfer'd, by the Multitude, to those at the Head of Affairs; and the Imputation of Guilt rests on them, tho' far remov'd from the guilty Management. This infinitely aggravates the Base-

ness and Treachery of those who besiege Ministers, in order to sell them, and cultivate a Share in their Favour, merely to prostitute it to the best Bidder.

Such Treachery to Ministers is frequent as it is scandalous; and such Betrayers of Ministers, as they are the Men who lead them into Snares, are the first to reproach their Conduct. It often happens, that *Patriotism* itself takes its Rise from this monstrous Perfidy; and a guilty mercenary Creature, who hath lost all Confidence by being detected in some Design of this Nature, hath no other Method to recover his own Reputation, than by defaming that Minister whom he intended to betray.

It is however to be observ'd on the Side of an honest Minister, whenever he is oppos'd by such Men; it is some Consolation and Advantage to him that they are against him. He would have much more to fear from them, were he acting in Concert with them; and therefore a Defection of mercenary, restless, unsatisfied Men is a happy Revolution in a Minister's Favour.

*Craftsman, Dec. 23, and 30.*

*Of a Standing Army.*

**THESE** Papers consisting mostly of what was said for and against the Number of Forces to be kept up, &c. in the Debates in the House of Commons on that Subject, (which see p. 269, 276.) we shall therefore be the shorter upon them.

The Writer proposes, 1. to explain the Dangers of a *Standing Army* in general, to the Constitution of a *free Government*. 2. To consider whether there is any Necessity, at present, of keeping up the *same Number of Forces* in this Kingdom. 3. To point out where the *Strength of the Nation* really lies.

He first objects to the Distinction of a *Parliamentary Army*. Will any Man



Man pretend to say, that a numerous Body of regular Forces, kept up without Intermission for above 40 Years past, tho' with the Consent of Parliament, is not to all Intents and Purposes a *Standing Army*? The Reason of distinguishing between a *National, or Parliamentary Army*, and a *Royal Army* in the *Bill of Rights*, was founded on a Presumption that a *free* Parliament, which was likewise provided for in the *same Bill*, would never consent to a *Standing Army*, in Times of Peace.

Supposing K. James's Army had received the Sanction of Parliament, would it have been the less grievous and terrible to the People; or might it not, in that Case, have prov'd a more effectual Instrument for their Destruction?

Was not Cromwell's a *Parliamentary Army* in the strictest Sense? Yet did not they turn against their Masters, and erect a Tyranny to themselves, upon the Ruins of the Constitution?

Where is the Difference between a *perpetual, establish'd Army*, and the *same Number of Forces continued from Year to Year*, as little more than Matter of Form?

Whatever Power is granted to the *best Prince*, will be always claim'd as a Right by the *worst*; and a *Parliament* cannot refuse it, without coming almost to a Rupture, and giving him to understand they dare not trust him.

The chief Reason why a *British Parliament* would never hear of *Barracks*, was because it seem'd to have a direct Tendency to the Establishment of a *Standing Army*, and might look as if they admitted it to be a Part of our *Constitution*.

I am unwilling (says D'Anvers) to specify any *particular Number of Men*, to which our Army ought to be reduced in the present Juncture; because, I think, no *military standing Force* at all ought to be made a Part of our *Constitution*, nor even kept up from Year to Year, more than is suf-

ficient to man our Garrisons at home and abroad: But the Reduction of it to 12,000 was contended for last Year, as a *minus Malum*.

A *perpetual Standing Army* of 18,000 Men was even lately thought so unjustifiable a Subject, that the *Ministerial Writings* us'd to contend for it only during the *unsettled State of Affairs*, and promis'd us we should be relieved from some Part of it, as soon as they were adjusted: But the Arguments us'd last Year are founded on the Necessity of keeping up the *same Number of Forces at all Times*.

(To be continued.)

London Journal, Dec. 30. N<sup>o</sup> 705.

Continuation of the former, (See p. 474.) with Advice to the Dissenters.

C THE Repeal of the *Test-Act* will naturally tend to preserve the *State* and the *Church*. The King's Interest, and the Interest of Liberty, consist in a *firm Union* of all the *Whigs* in the Kingdom. The *Whigs* should therefore lay aside all Differences, and close heartily at this Time, not only as *Englishmen*, but as *Protestants*; for *Popery* is getting Ground in *England*, and all over *Europe*. (See p. 405.) Repealing *this Act* will certainly strengthen the *Whig-Interest*, as it will render Thousands capable of serving their King and Country, who now, thro' some *religious Scruples*, are incapable.

The *Church* will also be the safer by this Repeal. The *partial Liberty* the *Dissenters* have enjoy'd since the *Revolution*, has lessen'd them very much: Will not then a *full Liberty* make a greater and swifter Decrease? 'Tis a hundred to one, if *this Act* be repeal'd, that there's a *Dissenter* in the Kingdom, except the *Quakers*, 20 Years hence, who will count *Church-Communion sinful*: For the only Way to subdue People's Prejudices, and conquer their Aversions, is to use them well.

The 3d Argument is in Effect answer'd, p. 468. As to that taken from the *States of Holland* employing none but those of the *Establish'd Church*; they are also against *Trials by Juries*, &c. and must we follow them therein? Besides, there never was a Law in *Holland* to incapacitate the *Arminians*, or any *Protestant Dissenters*, for *civil* Trusts. It has been the *Practice*, indeed, and that's all, not to employ the *Arminians*, since they were in the *Barneveld* Faction against the *House of Orange*; so that they were laid by, not on a *religious*, but a *civil* Account; as we lay by the *Papists*, and as they are excluded in *Holland* by Name.

It is said by the Friends of the Ministry, that tho' it may be *reasonable* in itself, to repeal this *Act*, yet a Government is not always in a Condition to do what is reasonable to all Persons; that the *greater Interest* must never be sacrificed to the *less*; that *all Parties* ought to be consider'd, and the *best Balance* possible settled among them; that as the *Prejudices* of the *Dissenters* should be regarded, so should the *Prejudices* of *Churchmen*, who would be alarm'd by this Bill; that a *little more Time* may work off some of those *Prejudices*, and that all good Subjects will wait *proper Junctures* to obtain what is just in itself to grant, tho' not *expedient at this Time*. Such is the *Wisdom* of this World.

The Advice I would give the *Dissenters*, if the *Test* be not repeal'd, is, not to resent so far as to join with the *Tories*, and so break the *Whig-Interest*. They will remember, that tho' *their Friends* don't use them so well as they might expect, *their Enemies* will use them worse than they can bear; and that there's one Difference still between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*, viz. that if the first won't do them *all the Good* they desire, the last will do them *all the Ill* they are able. They will remember the Close of *Q. Anne's* Reign, when *Occasional* and *Schism*

*Acts* came thick upon one another, and when there was a *Design* to deprive them even of their *Right of Voting*; as the *Quakers* were actually tried to give up this Right, when 'twas offer'd to pass their *Affirmation Act* on that Condition; which they rejected with the just Indignation of *Englishmen*.

I can't leave you, Gentlemen, without repeating my Advice, *Never break the Whig Interest*; 'tis broken enough already, God knows; and I wish, *the Whigs in the House* would consider this before 'tis too late, and not drive Gentlemen into Measures, in their *own Defence*, against their *Principles*, and against the *true Interest* of their Country. But whither am I going? Whither will my *Passion for Liberty* hurry me? *Our Enemies will tell the rest with Pleasure*.

SOCRATES.

*Applebee's Journal*, Dec. 30.

*An annual Parliamentary Army distinguish'd from a Standing Army.*

A Standing Army is one establish'd by any Authority whatsoever, *Parliamentary* or *royal*, to Perpetuity, or any long indefinite Space of Time. Now between such an Army, and an *annual Army*, raised and continued, as our present is, there is a very great Distinction, altho' the latter be kept up for forty, or any other Term of Years. This Distinction will not appear to be without a Difference, as Mr. *D'Anvers* affirms, (see p. 478.) if we consider that such an Army, established by Consent of Parliament without any Limitation of Time, can never be dissolved by Parliament afterwards without the Consent of the Crown, which would be difficult, if not impossible to obtain; as it is giving up a Power to the People, which they had before vested in the Crown.

While the Army is continued from Year to Year, a Prince is under the most powerful Obligations, even those of Self-Interest, to square the Whole of his Conduct with the Voice of the People, to supply all Vacancies, and confer all Commands that happen within the Year, upon Men of known Zeal for the Interest of the People. Should he deviate from this Principle of Action, the Consequence to him would be the *ill Will* of the Parliament, whereupon the Army would be disbanded the ensuing Year. These are such Ties and Restrictions, that a Prince with a *Standing Army*, properly so call'd, does not lie under to adhere to the Cause of Liberty.



On the Queen's Grotto. By Stephen Duck.

NOW blush, *Calypso*; 'tis but just to yield,  
That all your mossy caves are here excel'd.

See how the walls in humble form advance  
With careless pride, and simple elegance;  
See art and nature strive with equal grace,  
And fancy charm'd with what she can't surpass.  
Flow swiftly, *Thames*, and flowing still proclaim  
This building's beauty, and the builder's fame;  
Tell *Indian* seas thy *Naiads* here have seen  
The sweetest grotto and the wisest *Queen*,  
Whose royal presence blest this humble seat;  
How small the mansion, and the guest how great!  
So angels sat in *Canaan's* sweet abodes;  
So rural shades were honour'd with the gods:  
Here may her soul th' Almighty's wonder trace,  
Far as the worthies that adorn the place;  
Whose awful busts around the grot appear,  
The brightest stars in learning's hemisphere;  
Their fathers dimly view'd the dawning ray;  
They rose like suns, and brought a flood of day.  
But cease, my muse, and cast thy wond'ring eyes  
Where *Phæbus*' lofty domes \* majestic rise;  
Whose tuneful strains have sung this grotto's  
praise;

Contending each, 'till each deserves the bays.  
O pardon me, ye learned sons of fame,  
Who faintly after you attempt the theme;  
Nor think I rival your poetick fires,  
My *Queen* commands, and gratitude inspires:  
And you, imperial foundress, deign to smile,  
Nor scorn the least, the latest muse's toil,  
Who brings the tardy off'ring of her lays,  
The first in duty, tho' the last in praise.

\* Westminster and Eaton Schools.

Hor. Book 3d. Ode 18th. Imitated  
by H. Rodney, Esq;

NO beams, from distant climates come,  
Support the structure of my dome;  
No gorgeous hangings here are seen,  
But all is homely, neat, and clean;  
The whole estate I have each year,  
Is mod'rate, competent, and clear;  
Two country maids are all my store,  
Yet these two nymphs I value more,  
Than ten from any foreign shore;  
My wit so lively is, and free,  
That nobles make their court to me,  
Love the retirement of my cell,  
And haunt with pleasure where I dwell;  
Enough I think my present store,  
Nor do I ask of heav'n for more,  
But thank the kindness of my God,  
For that small stock he has allow'd;  
Lo time still wastes, and wastes away,  
And moons arise but to decay;  
Then why, fond mortals, tell me why!  
Ye raise your costly domes so high!  
Why build ye palaces so great,  
With all th' extravagance of state,

When every stone must fall away,  
And crumble still, and still decay?  
Why strive ye to enrich ye more,  
With ware from every foreign shoar,  
When death stands knocking at your door?  
Tho' wealth innumerable you have,  
Can riches save you from the grave?  
Ah no, we all, we all must go,  
A victim to the shades below!  
Then whither do you farther tend?  
You'll find the earth an equal friend.  
She'll let the prince and beggar have  
The like reception in the grave:  
But when you reach that gloomy shoar,  
Where all your fathers are before,  
No heaps of gold will then obtain,  
To bring you back to life again;  
For death we see still keeps below  
Our *Marlb'rough*, and the great *Nassau*;  
And by the poor man ready stands,  
To ease the labour of his hands.

The 3d Ode of the 2d. Book of Horace,  
translated by P. Bennet.

WHEN adverse fortune lowres, my friend,  
Forbear the tedious hours to spend  
In constant plaints; nor when her brow  
Contracted clears, elateness shew.

Or, sorrowful you meditate  
On death, you must submit to fate ----  
Or, on the grass in sultry time,  
You quaff at ease *Falernian* wine,  
Where the white poplar and tall pine  
Their mutual, close embraces join;  
Where a cool riv'let glides around,  
And murmur'ing measures out your ground. ---  
Bring wine, and unguents od'rous bring  
The short-liv'd rose that paints the spring ---  
Whilst your estate, your age agree,  
And the black looms to suffer thee.

Your woods, your house, the village thine,  
By *Tyber* wash'd, you must resign; ---  
Your hoarded riches, now you spare,  
Must pamper up a joyful heir.

It matters not, my friend, if you  
Are sprung from kings; or from a low  
Descend; ---- death's victim you must be,  
Who yields to none, nor will to thee.

All thither tend; ---- or soon or late,  
We must submit ourselves to fate, ---  
Be mournful exiles from that shore,  
Alas! we ne'er shall visit more. ---

Translation of the 3d Ode of Anacreon.

IN CUPIDINEM.

(Boetæ  
NOX erat intempesta; pigri cum plaustra  
Radens per gelidum volvitur ursa polum;  
Dulcis ubi fessos mortales somnus habebat,  
Reclinesque toro pressit amica quies;  
Ecce venit, stratus cum membra sopore jacerem,  
Clasaque, sollicitans, ostia pulsant Amor.

Qyis

*Quis tam serò fores? dixi: quis rumpit iniquus  
Non tempestivis somnia grata sonis?  
Ille, reclude, inquit lacrimans, & mitte moveri;  
Sum sine luce vagans, obrutus imbre puer.  
Motus ego precibus surgo, accendoque lucernam;  
Fidus & à portis mox removetur obex.  
Alatum vidi puerum; cui corneus arcus,  
Et pharetræ ex humero læve pendit ebur.  
Sub tectum ducebam, & ad interiora penatum;  
Et tepido admovi frigida membra foco.  
Mollibus expressi nocturnum è crinibus imbrem;  
Et fovi manibus terque quaterque manus.  
Jam corpus firmare vigor, jam frigus abire,  
Membra animare novus jam rediitque calor.  
Exploremus, ait, madefactum, subdolum, arcum,  
Num nervus pluvia langueat udus aqua.  
Dixerat hæc, arcum tendens; missaque sagitta  
Me ferit, & medium vulnerat usque jecur.  
Deinde mihi, saltu gaudens, visuque maligno,  
Mordaci ingratos ingerit ore jocos.  
Hesper, ait, mecum lætare; en! omnia tuta:  
Haud nervus pluvia læditur udus aqua:  
Atte (pro pudor & scelus!) improba læsit arundo;  
Quam vellem hospitii non violasse fidem!*

## In English.

## CUPID.

**T**WAS midnight; when the northern bear  
Rolls near *Bootes'* lazy car;  
When weary mortals lie repos'd,  
Their eyes in pleasing slumber clos'd.  
'Twas then, that mischief-making brat,  
*Cupid*, stood knocking at my gate.  
Who's there, said I, that calls so late?  
What sounds unseasonably molest  
My soothing dreams, and break my rest?  
Sir, with a piteous tone he cry'd,  
Pray, be not angry: do not chide,  
I am a poor, weak, helpless boy;  
Whom wind, and rain, and dirt annoy,  
Who without guide, or moonlight stray,  
Wet to the skin, as cold as clay.  
I, who his complaints with pity heard,  
Rose, sprung a light, my gates unbar'd.  
A lovely boy stood shiv'ring there;  
One, whom, I thought, I need not fear.  
I view'd him round, and saw strange things,  
A bow, a quiver, and two wings.  
Him shudd'ring to the fire I led,  
Char'd his chill hands, and strok'd his head;  
Wringing with care its beauteous curls,  
Which new-fall'n rain had hung with pearls.  
At length, when warm, the yonker said,  
Alas! my bow ----- I am afraid  
The string is damag'd by the wet;  
And that's a damage very great.  
Sir, if you please, we'll quickly try -----  
----- Ay, by all means; do, do, said I.  
With that he bent the stubborn eugh,  
And to the head an arrow drew;  
And pierc'd my liver through and through.  
Then giggling loud, and with a bound  
Jumping, and cap'ring from the ground,

Landlord, he cry'd, the rain you see,  
Has us'd my bow most civilly;  
But, oh! I fear th' unlucky dart  
Has been uncivil to your heart.

*The Lover and his Parrot. After the  
Manner of Anacreon.*

**H**ENCE, parrot, foolish prattler go,  
Leave me to nurse my ling'ring woe:  
Go, hide thee in thy painted cage,  
Nor trust a frantick lover's rage:  
No more, from out my fondling lip  
The juice of *India* shalt thou sip:  
No more, to cheer thee, grape I'll bring;  
Nor feast thee on the linnet's wing:  
False *Cloe's* falsest heart shall be  
As fatal to my bird as me:  
Yet, ere thy doom thou dost receive,  
One tryal make, --- I give thee leave:  
Swift to my cruel mistress fly,  
All thy fond tricks to sooth her try;  
Now with thy bill her cheeks caress;  
Now in her lap thy feathers dress:  
Tread softly o'er her bosom's charms,  
O flutter on her snowy arms:  
Then tell her, wretched *Strepson* dies;  
Repeat his groans, repeat his sighs;  
And if thy little arts prevail;  
If *Cloe* listens to thy tale;  
To thy lov'd mouth I'll nectar hold,  
And seat thee on a perch of gold.  
But if thy embassy be vain,  
And she relentless still remain,  
O! welcome grief, and dire despair!  
Ill too fond flatt'rer thou shalt fare:  
For none a reason can assign,  
That thou shou'dst joy while I repine.

*To Sally at the Chop-house, at the  
Lamb behind the Royal-Exchange;  
left by a Gentleman on the Table.*

**D**EAR Sally, emblem of thy chop-house ware,  
As broth reviving, and as white bread fair;  
As small beer grateful, and as pepper strong;  
As beef-stake tender, as fresh pot herbs young;  
As sharp as knife, and piercing as a fork,  
Soft as new butter, white as fairest pork;  
Sweet as young mutton, brisk as bottl'd beer;  
Smooth as is oil, juicy as cucumber,  
And bright as cruet void of vinegar.  
Oh! Sally, cou'd I turn, and shift my love,  
With the same skill that you your stakes can  
move,  
My heart, thus cook'd, might prove a chop-  
house feast,  
And you alone shou'd be the welcome guest.  
But, dearest *Sal!* the flames that you impart,  
Like chop on gridiron, broil my tender heart;  
Which, if thy kindly helping hand ben't nigh,  
Must, like an unturn'd chop, hiss, burn, and fry;  
And must at last, thou scorcher of my soul,  
Shrink, and become an undistinguish'd coal.



To Miss Cecilia Young.

CECILIA, when, with artful note  
You charm th' attentive ear;  
And warble from your tuneful throat  
What Seraphims might hear;  
My soul in raptures feels the song,  
And dwells upon the sound:  
So Syrens draw the list'ning throng,  
And please the while they wound.

Alter & Idem.

To C. D.

THE time approaches--*sessions* now is near,  
With *malecontents* the *harvest* of the year.  
Faction revives---new *libels* must be spread  
On *rising* taxes, and *decaying* trade.  
But can folks always find on what to rail?  
While *ministers* are men, can *topicks* fail?  
Yet *D'Anvers*, tho' with quick *invention* blest,  
Dwells on *old* tales, and *broaches* no *new* jest.  
The season's come he says--and to alarm ye,  
Talks on *stale* points, th' *excise* and *standing*  
army;  
From whence, to *rouze* a so much *injur'd* nation,  
'Tis odds he'll come to *stocks* and *corporation*;  
Thus *husbanded*, tho' subjects are but *few*,  
Each *winter* they'll appear---in *habit* new.  
So after *months* repose from *thorny* brake,  
Swoln with new *venom* springs the *hissing* snake;  
Her old skin cast--she boasts her *polish'd* frame,  
And *burnish'd* spots---another yet the same.

On the Eclipse of the Moon, Nov.  
20, 1732.

THE shade of earth, with deep embodied veil  
Hung on the moon, and caus'd her light  
to fail.  
The universal face of nature mourn'd,  
Her silver mantle into sable turn'd;  
Solemn and silent, all around appear'd,  
Thick darkness--to be seen--and to be fear'd.  
(What horrors then thro' *Agypt* must be found  
For three whole days in utter darkness bound!)  
But see--the black pavilion does remove!  
And the bright orb triumphant rides above,  
In fuller glory her gay course to run,  
Rejoycing in the beams she borrows from the  
sun.  
Thus, when the foe of man (in *Woolston*)  
strove  
To scatter darkness o'er the mystick dove:  
The hellish fog diffus'd itself so wide,  
Ev'n good men tumbled and implor'd a guide:  
Sweetly effulgent, truth broke forth at last,  
And lively faith pronounc'd the danger past;  
The dazzl'd fiend startled at heav'nly light  
(*Isabriel's* \* spear could only be as bright)  
Then murmur'g fled with his own shades  
of night.

\* See Milton, Book IV.

Hence doth religion's lustre purer shine,  
And proves its source to be--the light divine;

An Epigram of Martial burlesqued.

HAVE you not seen, (at *Smithfield* fair,  
Or rather, what d'ye call it there?  
*St. Bart'leme's*;) a strutting Jack,  
With a patch'd coat upon his back,  
Adorn'd with blue, white, red, and grey,  
Purple, and such like bits as they?  
So in his closet old *Tom Gellat*  
(Tho' hang it, friend, I'm loth to tell it!)  
Has got an hundred suits of cloaths,  
And all a different hue disclose.  
If I cou'd but one suit obtain,  
I should be glad; but 'tis a shame,  
I think, to thieve; to thieve from who?  
Who? why the moths, *sir*, not from you.

On Christmas.

O Blessed season! lov'd by saints and sinners,  
For long devotions, or for longer dinners:  
More grateful still to those who deal in books;  
Now not with readers, but with pastry-cooks.  
Learn'd works, despis'd by those to merit blind,  
By these well weigh'd their certain value find:  
Blest lot of paper, falsely called waste,  
To bear those cates, which authors seldom taste!

On Puffs.

PUFFS and advertisements, like gasps of  
breath,  
Drawn in th' approaching agonies of death,  
Shew, that the puffers are but just alive:  
Tho' still in those they say, they're well and  
thrive.  
Whilst such bold quacks a dying life insure,  
A living death their patients still endure.  
When puffs and advertisements cease to fly,  
The patients soon revive, and doctors die.

An Epigram of Martial translated.

SICK of a raging fever *Aulus* lies,  
And fills the house with lamentable cries,  
He turns his raging sides oppress'd with pain,  
And groans and sighs for ease, but sighs and  
groans in vain.  
And why? --- the velvet blushing as the  
morn,  
Circling around his body does adorn;  
Diamonds and rubies sparkle on his breast,  
And luxury itself explains the rest.  
Vain man! not all that plenteous *Agypt* boasts,  
Nor what's transfer'd from rich *Arabia's* coasts;  
No dresses a-la-mode of pomp and state,  
Can ought thy fiery fever's flame abate.  
Would you your pristine state of health regain,  
And once being reposessor, it retain;  
This gaudy pomp and furniture forbear,  
And take such homely cloathing as I wear.

The

The GENTLEMAN'S  
*Monthly Intelligencer.*

DECEMBER, 1732.

SATURDAY, Dec. 2.



Cause was tried at the Court of *King's Bench Westminster*, wherein the King was Plaintiff, and a certain Baker near *Grosvenor-Square*, Defendant, on an Indictment for exercising the Trade of a Baker, not having serv'd seven Years thereto; and after a full Hearing the Jury were directed to find him guilty; upon which they fin'd him 22*l*.

THURSDAY, 7.

This being the Birth-Day of the Princess *Louisa*, their Majesties received the Compliments of the Nobility and Gentry at Court on that Occasion; and in the Evening there was a Ball given by his Royal Highness the Duke, to several young Persons of the first Rank, at the Apartments of the Princess *Mary*.

Several Waggon Loads of antient Records that lay over the Gateway, some Time since taken down, in *St. Margaret's Lane, Westminster*, were about this Time put into the *Chapter-House* adjoining to *Westminster-Abbey*, pursuant to an Order of the House of Lords.

MONDAY, 11.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the six following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, viz. *Henry Neal*, for breaking open the House of Mr. *Groves*, Huntsman to the Lord Mayor, and stealing

thence a Hat, a Pair of Shoes, a Pair of Stockings, a Pair of Breeches, a Guinea and a Half in Gold, and Half a Crown in Silver; *Ebenezer Dunn*, for breaking open the House of Mrs. *Lovesade*, and stealing divers Goods of Value; *John Ingram*, for breaking open the House of Mr. *Cure* in the *Hay-Market*, and stealing several Parcels of Goods; *William Macclogue*, for stealing 90 Guineas in Money out of the House of *Henry Green*; *William Heath*, a Cbler of *Bishopsgate-street*, for assaulting a Woman on the Highway, near *Brook-House* at *Clapton*, and robbing her of some Childbed Linnen, and Threepence Farthing in Money; and *William Roberts*, alias *Hampton*, for breaking open the House of *Henry Fry*, and stealing several Parcels of Goods.

*Bartholomew Harnet* was try'd for wilful and corrupt Perjury, in swearing a Robbery against one *William Holmes*, a Sawyer, who died of the Jail Distemper soon after he was discharged from *Newgate*; and was found guilty, and sentenc'd to stand in the Pillory three Times, first at the *Royal Exchange*, second at the End of *Chancery-Lane*, and the last Time in *Bishopsgate-street*; to suffer 12 Months Imprisonment, and to be transported for 7 Years.

Two were burnt in the Hand, 33 order'd for Transportation, and 3 to be whipt.

WED-



WEDNESDAY, 13.

The Count *de Montijo*, Ambassador-Extraordinary from his Catholic Majesty, order'd *Te Deum* to be sung in Thanksgiving for the entire Victory which the Garrison of *Oran* has obtain'd against the *Moors*, making them raise the Siege they had laid to the Forts, with the Loss of all their Artillery and Ammunition, as also all their Works.

A Trial was determined at *Guild-Hall* before the Lord Chief Justice *Raymond*, between the Company of Cordwainers, Plaintiffs, and the Company of Curriers, Defendants, upon an Action brought by the Plaintiffs for the Curriers cutting of Leather and retailing of it, to the Prejudice of the fair Trader. After a full Hearing of six Hours the Jury went twice out, and brought in their Verdict for the Plaintiffs, and 6s. 8d. Damage.

THURSDAY, 14.

A Court of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council was held at *Guildball*, when the Thanks of the Court were unanimously given to Sir *Francis Child*, late Lord Mayor, for his prudent Management, &c. while possessed of that Office. The Orphans Tax-Bill was passed: As also was, after several Debates, that for raising 2443 l. on the Inhabitants of this City, for supporting the *London Workhouse*, for which no Money had been raised since 1720.

WEDNESDAY, 20.

A General Court was held at the *East-India House*, when the Directors laid before them several Provisions they had made for the preventing the Abuses of their Servants both Abroad and at home; all which being approv'd of, the Directors then acquainted the Court, that in Consequence of the Reference made to them they had proceeded towards the Reduction of the Interest of the Company's Bonds, and that above 2,000,000l. of those Bonds were

come in, and mark'd for an Interest of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. and they were effectuating what remain'd to be done in the best Method they could, declaring, that if they found any Difficulty therein, they would acquaint the general Court therewith; which being likewise approv'd of, a Question was then moved, that the half yearly Dividend at *Christmas* be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent.. but it being necessary, in order to resolve this Question, to know whether the Court of Directors continu'd in their former Opinion, that the Dividend ought to be but 3 per Cent. they were desired to clear that Matter; and they thereupon declar'd, they had very lately taken into their Consideration the State of the last Sale, and the above Reduction of Interest, and all the rest of the Company's Circumstances, and upon the Whole they adher'd unanimously to their former Opinion: Whereupon the Question, after a long Debate, was put, whether the next Dividend should be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. and it was carried in the Negative, and a Ballot demanded,

Came on, at their House in *Threadneedle-street*, the Sale of the S. S. Company's *Greenland Ships*, which were put up at 1200 l. per Ship, to advance 5 l. twenty of which sold on an Average at 1350 l. per Ship; all being sold except the Ship *Industry*. (See p. 418.)

The following is the Inscription on the Monument just erected in *Westminster-Abbey*, to the Memory of the late Earl *Stanhope*.

Memoriæ Sacrum Viri Prænobilis  
JACOBI ComitIS STANHOPE,  
Quem pro multifaria Ingenii præstantia splendida Honorum varietas gradatim illustravit. Castris ab ineunte Adolescentia innutritus, perpetua Titulorum serie, ad Militaris fastidii Gloriam, sine Invidia, viam sibi munivit. Quid Exercitus Imperator gessit, Testis est

est Hispania, & affixa veraci Præconio loquuntur Numismata.

Nec in Civilibus Rebus dirigendis minorem adeptus est Celebritatem. Cum nullum fere esset Officium illustrius, in quo ipsum non exercuit Fortuna Patriæ: In quo ipse non emicuit Adjutor Patriæ fidus & sagax. Regi à Secretis, Fœderum gravissimorum Auctor fuit Perfectorque. In Ærarii Administratione caste versatus, delicatam Publicarum Pecuniarum Fidem, temperato solerter Fœnore, conservavit integram. In utraque Senatus Curia, vivida dicendi facultate præpollens, arrectos Auditorum Animos inflammavit; ipse interea in medio ardentis Eloquii æstu, immoti Judicii Tranquillitate, sibi constans.

Has Belli Pacisque Artes suavissimæ Indolis Humanitate condientem, Politiorisque Doctrinæ Deliciis Intervalla Negotiorum elegantissimè distinguentem, Patriæ diutius prodesse, nisi per superstitem optimæ spei Progeniem, vetuit Mors præmatura.

*In English thus:*

*In Memory of the Right Honourable JAMES Earl STANHOPE, Who was gradually dignify'd by a Variety of Honours, suitable to the various Extent of his Genius. Being form'd to the Camp from his earliest Youth, he rose unenvied, thro' a continu'd Series of Promotions, to the Height of Military Command. Spain may witness his Exploits as a General, and the Medals underneath record them without Flattery.*

*Nor was he less celebrated for the Conduct of civil Affairs; there being scarce any of the great Employments of State, to which he was not call'd by the Exigences of his Country; and in the Discharge of them, he always distinguish'd himself as a faithful and able Minister. As Secretary of State, he projected and compleated the most important and difficult Alliances,*

*As first Commissioner of the Treasury, by his Disinterestedness and Prudence, he so manag'd the Reduction of the publick Funds, as at the same Time to preserve the publick Credit entire. As a Member of both Houses of Parliament, by his forcible Manner of speaking, he fix'd the Attention, and warm'd the Passions of his Hearers; but when his Expressions even glow'd with the Fire of Eloquence, he still retain'd a steady Consistency of Judgment.*

*Such were his Accomplishments as a Soldier and a Statesman; all which he sweeten'd by an amiable Benevolence of Temper, elegantly filling up his Intervals of Leisure, with the Entertainments of polite Literature. But a too early Death prevented him from being longer serviceable to his Country, otherwise than by the promising Issue, which he has left behind him.*

FRIDAY, 29.

At a Meeting of the Deputies of the several Congregations of Protestant Dissenters in this City, and within ten Miles of the same, to receive the Report of the Committee for considering the Matter referr'd to them, touching an Application to Parliament for the Repeal or Explanation of the Corporation and Test Acts, the Names of the Gentlemen of the Committee and of the Deputies were called over, when it appeared that only two of the Committee and ten of the Deputies were absent; after which Samuel Holden, Esq; Chairman of the Committee, and also of the Assembly, spoke as follows, viz.

Gentlemen,

**A**S this is the most regular Assembly which (as far as I know) the Dissenters ever held, so is the Occasion of its Meeting of the greatest Importance, since the Resolutions you take will probably not only affect you in particular, but draw after them such Consequences as may have a great Influence on the publick Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. Circumstances so nice and singular so



so difficult and important, call for the greatest Candour and Temper; the greatest Caution and Prudence in resolving; as on the one hand, not to lose an Opportunity of obtaining what we apprehend to be for the Honour of Religion, the greater Safety of his Majesty's Person and Government, a Security to the Succession in his Royal Family, an Ease to his Administration, a Strengthening to the Protestant Interest, and even of Service to that very Establishment it is (mistakenly I hope) thought to thwart; since, had not you been brought under these and other Difficulties, the Church of England had probably never been in those imminent Dangers a kind Providence has more than once rescu'd it from, and that thro' your Concurrence and Assistance; and in these Sentiments I hope the wisest and most judicious Part of the Nation agree with you; so on the other hand, it highly imports you to be exceeding cautious and wary, lest by any rash and precipitate Measures, instead of promoting and forwarding, you do not procrastinate and delay, if not totally defeat, what we (and not we only) have so much at Heart.

It is to be hop'd, that after so many Years irreproachable Behaviour, you will not give a Handle to those who wish you ill, and who will not fail to improve every Advantage against you, of upbraiding you with but a seemingly contrary Conduct, under a Prince who deserves so well of all his People, and an Administration that can hardly be suspected unwilling to give into any Thing for your Advantage consistent with the publick Tranquillity; which ought always to sway with them, and will, I hope, have its due Weight with you.

Gentlemen,

Since the Recommitting this Affair, the Committee have spared no Pains, nor neglected no Means, either by renewed Applications, or duly considering what has been said or wrote on one Side of the Question and the other, to enable

them the better to form their Judgment; and after the mature Deliberation, they directed me to report to you their Opinion, as follows, viz.

Resolved, That an Application to Parliament for a Repeal or Explanation of the Corporation and Test Acts, is not like to be attended with Success.

Resolved, That upon this Consideration, such an Application is apprehended by no Means advisable.

Then the said Assembly, after mature Consideration and Debate, in the most temperate and decent Manner, almost unanimously agreed to the said Report; and with great Unanimity expressed their Gratitude and Thanks to the Committee, for their prudent Conduct and Integrity in this Affair; and desir'd them to send the said Resolutions, with such Letters as they shall think proper, into the Country.

A General Bill of Christnings and Burials, within the Bills of Mortality. from Dec. 14, 1731, to Dec. 12, 1732.

Christened		Buried	
Males	9144	Males	11655
Females	8644	Females	11703

In all 17788      In all 23358

Decr. in the Burials this Year 1904.

Whereof have died,

Under Two Years of Age	9502
Between Two and Five	1517
Five and Ten	716
Ten and Twenty	611
Twenty and Thirty	1627
Thirty and Forty	2175
Forty and Fifty	2121
Fifty and Sixty	1741
Sixty and Seventy	1581
Seventy and Eighty	974
Eighty and Ninety	660
Ninety and a Hundred	121
A Hundred	3
A Hundred and One	3
A Hundred and Two	4
A Hundred and Five	2

#### Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

Mr. Fowkes, one of the senior Fellows of Magdalen College, Cambridge, pre-

presented by the said College to the Vicarage of *St. Katherine Cree-church, London.*

Mr. *Rice Williams, A. M.* to the Rectory of *Roding Plumb*, alias *Great Roding*, in *Essex*, in the Diocese of *London.*

Mr. *Ford, A. M.* to the Rectory of *Stockley-Inglish*, alias *Stocklaugh-English*, in the County of *Devon* and Diocese of *Exeter.*

Mr. *Ralph Brooks*, to the Rectory of *Asbney*, alias *Ashton*, in the County of *Northampton*, void by the Cession of *Henry Gally, D. D.*

Mr. *Brooks*, chosen Lecturer of *St. Mary at Hill*, in the room of Mr. *Gwyn*, deceased.

Dr. *Geekye*, Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, presented by his Lordship to the Vicarage of *Albaltows Barking*, in the room of Dr. *Gascarth*, deceased.

*John Hayward, A. B.* presented by the King, to the Rectory of *Witbington*, in the County and Diocese of *Gloucester*, void by the Promotion of Dr. *Richard Smalbrook*, to the See of *Litchfield and Coventry.*

#### PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Col. *Douglas* made Governor of *Fort St. Philip* in the Island of *Minorca*, in the room of Col. *Edward Montagu*, made Governor of *Kingston upon Hull.*

On the 30th ult. Sir *Hans Sloane*, Bart. re-elected President of the *Royal Society.* The following continu'd of the Council, viz. *Martin Folks, Esq;* Sir *John Fortescue Aland*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*; *Roger Gale, Esq;* Treasurer; *John Hadley, Esq;* *Edmund Halley, L. L. D.* Astron. Reg. *John Machin*, Ast. Pr. Gr. Secr. *Richard Mead, M. D.* *Cromwell Mortimer, M. D.* Secr. Duke of *Richmond*, and *James West, Esq;* These new ones chosen of the Council, viz. Lord *Carpenter, Joseph Andrews, Esq;* Mr. *John Eames*; Mr. *George Graham*;

*John Jeffreys, Esq;* *William Jones, Esq;* *Smart Letbullier, Esq;* Lord *Percival*; Mr. *Isaac Rand*; and *James Theobald, Esq;*

*Thomas Bryan*, of the *Middle-Temple, Esq;* Clerk of the Customs of the Northern Ports, and Deputy to *George Metcalf, Esq;* deceased, as Solicitor of the Customs appointed to succeed the said *George Metcalf, Esq;* as Solicitor of the Customs.

His Majesty has granted to the Lord Viscount *Lymington*, the Offices of Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of all his Majesty's Forests, Parks, Chases and Warrens beyond *Trent*, in the room of the Earl of *Harborough*, deceased.

Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Knt. senior Alderman of *London*, created a Baronet.

The following Gentlemen appointed Sheriffs for the ensuing Year, viz. for *Berks*, *Edw. Sherwood, Esq;* *Bedf.* *Hen. Southouse, Esq;* *Cumberl.* *Hen. Aglionby, Esq;* *Chester*, *Jeffrey Shackerly, Esq;* *Cantab' & Hunt'* *Geo. Waddington, Esq;* *Devon*, *Waldo Calmady, Esq;* *Dorset*, *Sir Will. Napier, Bart.* *Ebor'* *Tho. Condon, Esq;* *Essex*, *Will. Harvey, Esq;* *Gloucest.* *Reginald Winyatt, Esq;* *Hert.* *Tho. Floyer, Esq;* *Heref.* *James Walwyn, Esq;* *Kent*, *Sir Brooke Bridges, Bart.* *Leicesf.* *Waring Ashby, Esq;* *Lincoln.* *Will. D'Autrey, Esq;* *Monm.* *Will. Rees, Esq;* *Northumb.* *John Reed, Esq;* *Northamp.* *Tho. Cook, Esq;* *Norfolk*, *Will. Helwys, Esq;* *Notting.* *John Disney, Esq;* *Oxon*, *Edw. Turner, Esq;* *Rut.* *Will. Goding, Esq;* *Salop.* *Tho. Lloyd, Esq;* *Somersf.* *Sir J. Smith, Bart.* *Staff.* *John Dolphin, Esq;* *Suff.* *Alexander Bence, Esq;* *Southamp.* *Tho. Morgan, Esq;* *Surrey*, *Ralph Thrayle, Esq;* *Suffex*, *Raymond Blackmore, Esq;* *Warew.* *Egidius Palmer, Esq;* *Worcest.* *Edm. Lechmere, Esq;* *Wils.* *Job Polden, Esq;* *Brecon*, *Watson Powel, Esq;* *Carmarth.* *Rich. Lewis, Esq;* *Cardig.* *Tho. Lloyd, Esq;* *Glamor.* *Herbert Mackworth, Esq;* *Radnor.*



*Radnor.* James Gronouse Esq; *Anglesea*, Wm. Evans, Esq; *Carnar.* John Wynn, Esq; *Denbigh*, Rob. Price, Esq; *Flint*, Rich. Williams, Esq; *Merion.* Hugh Thomas, Esq; *Montg.* Roger Trevor, Esq;

Col. *Tbo. Paget*, made Col. of the Reg. of Foot late Brig. Gen. *Dubourgay's*, deceas'd.

Col. *Onslow*, of the Foot-Guards, made Lieut. to the first Troop of Grenadier-Guards, in the room of the Earl of *Effingham*, promoted to the Command of a Reg. of Foot.

*Edward Trelawney*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Westlow* in *Cornwall*, made one of the Commissioners of the Customs.

*Rich. Fitzwilliams*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council in *Virginia*, kiss'd the King's Hand for the Government of the *Bahama Islands*, vacant by the Death of *Wood Rogers*, Esq;

His Majesty has appointed the Hon. *William Finch*, Esq; to be his Minister Plenipotentiary to the States General of the *United Provinces*.

Omitted in our last.

*Leonard Smelt*, Esq; Representative in Parliament for *Northallerton*, appointed Clerk of his Majesty's Ordnance, in the room of *Thomas White*, Esq; deceas'd.

*James Cockburn*, Esq; Secretary to the Master General.

*William Rawlinson Erle*, Esq; Representative for *Malmsbury*, Clerk of the Deliveries, in the room of the said *Leonard Smelt*, Esq;

The Hon. *James Brudenell*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Andover*, made Groom of the Chamber to his Majesty, in the room of Lord *Cathcart*.

*Jenkin Thomas Phillips*, Præceptor to Prince *William*, Duke of *Cumberland*, appointed Historiographer to his Majesty, in the room of *Robert Stephens*, Esq; deceas'd, a Place worth 200 l. per Annum.

#### MARRIAGES.

*Richard Vaughan*, Esq; Knt. of the Shire

for *Merioneth*, married to Miss *Nanny*, of *Nanny-Hall*, in the same County, a rich Heiress. Mr. *Guerney*, Son of Mr. *Guerney*, Apothecary in *Pall-Mall*, to the Daughter of Governor *Roberts*, of 10,000 l. Fortune. *Robert Fotberby*, Esq; to Mrs. *Frances Charnock*, a Widow Lady of a great Fortune. Mr. *Penn*, Grandson to the late Sir *William Penn*, Chief Proprietor of *Pensylvania*, to Miss *Forbes*, Daughter to Mr. *Alexander Forbes*, Merchant, of *Gracechurch-street*. *Thomas Madeley*, Esq; of *Beskin-Hall* in *Lancashire*, to Miss *Godfall*, sole Daughter and Heiress of *Tbo. Godfall*, Esq; of *Rogg-Maiden* in *Westmoreland*, a young Lady of 10,000 l. Fortune. The Rev. Mr. *Annesley*, Rector of *Buckleberry* in *Berkshire*, to Miss *Mary Hanbury*, Daughter of ——— *Hanbury* of *Hertfordshire*, Esq; Counsellor *Martin*, of *Lincoln's-Inn*, to Miss *Rogers* of *Chancery-Lane*, of a considerable Fortune. The Hon. *Benjamin Batburs*, Esq; eldest Son to the Lord *Batburs*, to the eldest Daughter of the Lord *Bruce*. Mr. *Robert Turner*, an eminent Merchant of this City, to Miss *Lloyd* of *Holborn*, an Heiress of a great Fortune. Capt. *Robert Bootle*, a Commander of the *London*, an *East-India* Man, to Miss *Anne Tooke*, a young Lady of a great Fortune. *Robert Gillespie*, of *Axbridge* in *Somersetshire*, Esq; to Miss *Roach*, of the said Place. *Thomas Hayward*, Esq; of *Quedgley*, in *Gloucestershire*, to Miss *Parsons*, of *Bredon* in the same County, a young Lady of 10,000 l. Fortune. Mr. *Thomas Langton*, a *Portugal* Merchant, to Miss *Stretton*, Daughter of Capt. *Stretton*, of *Mile-End*, a young Lady of a handsome Fortune. *Robert Graham*, Esq; of *Southwamborough* in *Hants*, to the Countess of *Londonderry*. Sir *John Gifford*, Bart. of *Carey-street*, to Miss *Arundel*, eldest Daughter and Coheir of *Arundel Peelding*, Esq; a young Lady of 30,000 l. Fortune. Dr. *Heitor*, an eminent Physician at *Litchfield*, to Miss *Smith*. *William Bently*, of *Clapham*, Esq; to Miss *Bennet*, of *Tuten*, a young Lady of a great Fortune.

#### DEATHS.

*Thomas Douce*, of *Nether-Wallop* in the County of *Southampton*, Esq; Mr. *George Monk*, Deputy of *Dowgate Ward*. Capt. *Marten*, at his House at *Chelsea*. Mr. *John Gay*, at the D. of *Queensbury's House* in *Burlington-Gardens*, of a violent inflammatory Fever. He was Secretary to the Embassy to *Hanover* in the last Year of *Queen Anne*; was one of the most eminent Poets; and left a moderate Fortune between two Sisters. Dr. *Baker*, Bishop of *Norwich*, and Rector of *St. Giles's in the Fields*: He was in 1723, made Bishop of *Bangor*; and in 1727, translated to *Norwich* in the room of Dr. *John Leng*, deceas'd. Madam *Titus*, Daughter to the late Col. *Titus*, and the only surviving Heir of that Family.

The

The Lady *Pickering*, Relict of Sir *Harry Pickering*, at her House at *Whaddon* in *Cambridgeshire*. Dr. *Gaskarth*, Rector of *Albaldows Barking* near *Tower-Hill*: He was presented to that Living by Archbishop *Sancroft*, which he enjoyed 47 Years. Sir *John Armistage*, of *Kirkstrees* in the *West-Riding* of *Yorkshire*, Bart. *Edward Duppa*, Esq; one of the Sealers to the Lord Chancellor. Capt. *James Hawkins*, in the 92d Year of his Age, formerly a Commander in the Royal Navy. The Lady *Mary Howard*, sole Heiress of Sir *John Swevale*, Bart. of *Yorkshire*, Relict of the Right Hon. the Lord *Thomas Howard*, of *Workop*, and Mother to the present Duke of *Norfolk*. *William Sheppard*, Esq; at *West-Ham* in *Essex*. *Thomas Gape*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *St. Alban's*. The Lady *Houblon*, Relict of the late Sir *John Houblon*, Lord Mayor of *London* in 1695, and Governor of the *Bank of England* at its first Establishment. *Charles Hopson*, of *Brandisfield* in *Berkshire*, Esq; *Robert Jacombe*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Tetford* in *Norfolk*, and Deputy Pay-Master of the Forces. *Richard Norton*, Esq; at *Southwich* near *Portsmouth*, who has given all his real Estate, near 6000*l.* per Ann. and also his personal Estate, upwards of 60,000*l.* to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, whom he hath nominated his Executors, in Trust to dispose thereof in charitable Uses at their Discretion; and in Case the Parliament refuses to accept the said Trust, he then desires the Bishops of *England* to execute the same. He has also left Rings to all the Bishops, which are to go to their Successors. Dr. *William Bradshaw*, Bishop of *Bristol*, and Dean of *Christ-Church*. The Countess of *Sutherland*, Wife to *John Earl of Sutherland*, one of the 16 Peers for *North-Britain*. *William Leland*, Gent. at *Lisnaskea* in *Ireland*, aged 140 Years. He was born at *Warrington* in *England* in 1593, and perfectly remember'd the Coronation of *K. James I.* He was prodigious tall and big-bon'd. The Countess Dowager of *Seafortb*, at *Paris*, in the 98th Year of her Age; whose Son was in the Rebellion at *Pres-ton*. Dr. *John Davies*, Rector of *Kingsland* in *Herefordshire*, and Præcentor of the Cathedral Church in *St. David's*. Brigadier General *Kellum*. The Lady *Francis Ozenfield*, Relict of Sir *John Ozenfield*, of *Epsom*, Bart. His Grace, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, Hereditary Earl Marshal of *England*, Earl of *Arundel*, *Surrey*, *Norfolk*, and *Norwich*, Baron *Howard of Mowbray*, *Segrave Broase* of *Gower*, *Fitz-Alan*, *Warren*, *Clun*, *Osval-free*, *Maltravers*, *Greystock*, *Furnival*, *Verdon*, *Lowtor*, *Strange* of *Blackmere*, and *Howard* of *Castle-rising*; Premier Duke, Earl and Baron of *England*, next the Blood Royal,

and chief of the illustrious Family of the *Howards*. His Grace married *Mary*, Daughter and sole Heir to Sir *Nicholas Sbirburne* of *Stonyhurst* in the County of *Lancaster*, Bart. but had no Issue by her; so that the Honours and Estate devolve upon his Brother *Philip Howard*, now Duke of *Norfolk*. Mr. *Crouch*, Author of the Book of Rates, and other Books relating to the Customs. *Samuel Smith*, Esq; at *Wield-Hall* in *Essex*, possess'd of a very great Estate, in which he is succeeded by *Hugh Smith*, Esq; his only Brother, who married a Daughter of the Lady *Barret* of *Great Russell-street*. The Right Hon. the Earl of *Yarmouth*, in the 78th Year of his Age; by whose Death a Pension of 2000*l.* per Ann. reverts to the Crown. *John Bowler*, Esq; at *Northfleet* in *Kent*, said to have died worth upwards of 70,000*l.* the Bulk of which he has left to his only Son and 2 Daughters.

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

*Joseph Norcott*, of *St. Martin's* in the *Fields*, Victualler.

*Peter Sbenton*, of *Wallingford*, *Berks*, Draper.

*John Conran*, late of *Golden-Lane*, Distiller and Chapman.

*Will. Lloyd*, of *Carmarthen*, *Mercer*, Tobaccoist, and Shopkeeper.

*John and Thomas Demster*, late of *Hampton-Road*, in *Gloucestershire*, Chapmen and Co-partners.

*Stonier Parrot*, late of *Coventry*, Coal-Merchant and Chapman.

*Joseph Richardson*, late of *Cirencester*, Dealer in Wool and Chapman.

*John Sedding*, of the Parish of *St. Mary-le-bone*, Corn-chandler and Chapman.

*William Brown*, late of the Parish of *St. Clement Danes*, Victualler and Chapman.

*James Mourgues*, of the *Old-Bailey*, Wine-Merchant.

*Daniel Bedell*, of *Bishopsgate-street*, Plumber.

*Robert Green*, late of *Bishopsgate-street*, Distiller.

*Thomas Phillips*, late of the *Devizes* in *Wilts*, Seedsman and Chapman.

*Peter Ingham*, of *Tbeberton*, in *Suffolk*, Malster and Merchant.

*Henry Crush*, late of *Eastbergholt*, in *Suffolk*, Corn-Merchant.

*John Fawdery*, of *Bishopsgate-street*, Oilman.

*John Hobbs*, late of *Botolph-Lane*, Orange-Merchant.

*James Brown*, of *Wapping*, Baker.

*Amos Avery*, of the *Devizes*, in *Wilts*, Drugget-maker.

*Daniel Wall*, of *Maningtree*, in *Essex*, Shop-keeper and Chapman.



FROM *Oran*, by a *Spanish* General Officer: The Salley projected by the Garrison for demolishing the Trenches of the *Turks* and *Moors*, was compos'd of 7000 Foot and 400 Horse. All succeeded well at first, since we took one of their heavy Cannon, and nail'd up two others, after having dislodged the Enemy from all their Posts; but as in the Heat of Action our Troops advanc'd too far, we found ourselves surrounded by the Horse and Foot of the Infidels, so that we were oblig'd to form a Square, to make Head against them on all Sides; and in this Posture our Troops supported themselves with great Bravery, during six Hours, against the Attacks of the Enemy, who kill'd us in that Action 500 Men, and wounded many; among those who were kill'd, was the Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, our General. There was some Disorder in our Retreat, during which we lost nevertheless but few Men, the Infidels being check'd by two Regiments detached to our Assistance, who made upon them so great a Fire, and with such Advantage, that at last they were oblig'd to retire two Leagues from this Place. The next Day another Salley was made with 1000 Workmen, sustain'd by 500 Grenadiers, who razed the Enemies Batteries and Retrenchments.

N. B. The Accounts of these Actions were very various; though all seem'd to agree, that a great Number were lost on both Sides, and that the *Spaniards* at last got the Victory.

From the *Hague*: The Worms that are got into the Wooden Piles before our Dykes in *North Holland*, still make the same Havock; which is not surprising; for as long as there is Wood to eat, they will eat; and when that is gone, they will die; But the Mischief they do, is nothing near so great as the Populace make it, nor even as

the Sacred Orators insinuate, who sometimes make a Mountain of a Mole-Hill. The Damage is great, it is true; but it is not past Remedy; for there are so many Undertakers to kill these Worms, that it is difficult to chuse the best.

From *Florence*: That there came to that Court, address'd to the Great Duke and the Senate, on the Part of the Emperor, Letters *Decretal*, containing Reprimands against them both, for allowing the Infant *Don Carlos* to use the Title of Great Prince, by which he forfeits the Feudality which his *Imperial* Majesty and the Empire have over his Estates and the Great Duchy of *Tuscany*.

From *Naples*: The Damage the last Earthquake caused in the Province of *Laboro*, and in that of *Apuglia*, is greater than was at first given out. The City of *Avelino* is entirely ruin'd, there not being a House that is not either demolished, or damaged to such a Degree, that it cannot be inhabited. The City of *Oriano* had almost the same Fate.

From *Paris*. The King looking upon the Conduct of his Parliament as the Effect of their Zeal, has been pleas'd to suspend his Edict of the 18th of *August* last, to the great Joy of the People in general. (See p. 424.)

From *Vienna*. In the last Council of War, 'twas resolv'd to send Orders to all the Imperial Regiments in *Hungary*, *Italy*, the Empire, and *Austrian Netherlands*, to be recruited, and the Horse remounted before the End of *February* next. These Dispositions, together with Advices from abroad, persuade us of a War impendent: 'Tis however beyond all Dispute, that the Affairs of *Europe* are come to a Crisis.

E R R A T.

Page 372, Line 10, read 5700.

Prices

**Prices of Goods, &c. in December, 1732.**  
Towards the End of the Month.

**STOCKS.**

S. Sea 104 $\frac{7}{8}$	Afric. 35
—Bonds l. 27 a 6	Royal Aff. 105 $\frac{3}{4}$ a 6
—Annu. 109 $\frac{3}{4}$	Lon. ditto 13 $\frac{5}{8}$
Bank 150	Y. Build. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Circ. l. 52 6	3 per C. 101 $\frac{8}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
Mil. Bank 115	Eng Copper l. 18s
India 156, 156 $\frac{1}{4}$	Welsh dit. 1l. 13s.
—Bonds 5l. 6	Equivalent 111

**The Course of EXCHANGE.**

Amst. 35	Bilboa 42 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sight 34 10	Leghorn 50 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rotter. 35 2	Genoa 53 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{3}{8}$
Hamb. 34 2	Venice 48 $\frac{7}{8}$
P. Sight 32	Lisb. 5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{5}{8}$
Bourd. 31 $\frac{3}{4}$	Oport. 5 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cadiz 42 $\frac{1}{4}$	Antw. 35 9 a 10
Madrid 42 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dublin 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$

**Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.**

Wheat 25 26	Oates 10 13
Rye 12 15	Tares 18 20
Barley 13 16	Pease 16 18
H. Beans 18 20	H. Pease 16 18
P. Malt 21 23	B. Malt 19 21

**Abstract of the London WEEKLY  
BILL, from Nov. 28 to Dec. 26.**

Christned	{ Males 757 } 1460
	{ Females 703 }
Buried	{ Males 1284 } 2735
	{ Females 1451 }

Died under 2 Years old	974
Between 2 and 5	204
5 10	79
10 20	77
20 30	196
30 40	262
40 50	259
50 60	210
60 70	236
70 80	130
80 90	84
90 and upwards	24

2735

**Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 36s to 42s a Load.**

Coals per Chaldron 28 to 29	Sugar Powder best 54 a 59s.	Manna 18d. a 4s.
New Hops per Hun. 7l. 10 10 10	Ditto second Sort 46 a 50s.	Mastick white 4s. 6d.
Old Hops 2l. 15s. a 4l.	Loaf Sugar double ref. 8d. half a 9d.	Opium 11s.
Rape Seed 10l. a 11	Ditto single refine 56s. a 64s.	Quicksilver 4s. 3d.
Lead the Fodder 19 Hun. 1 half		Rhubarb 2s a 30s.
on board, 15 a 15l. 10s.	Grocery Wares by the lb.	Sarsaparilla 3s. 6d.
Tin in Blocks 4l.	Cinamon 7s. 8d.	Saffron English 26s.
Ditto in Bars 4l. 2s.	Cloves 9s. 1d.	Wormseeds 3s. a 4s
Copper Eng. best 5l. 5s.	Mace 15s. od.	Balsam Copariva 2s. 10d.
Ditto ordinary 4l. 16s. a 5l.	Nutmegs 8s. 7d.	Balsam of Gilead 18s.
Ditto Barbary 70 a 80l.	Sugar Candy white 14d. a 18	Hypocacuanæ 6s. a 7s.
Iron of Bilboa 15l. 05s. per Ton.	Ditto brown 6d.	Ambergreece per oz. 14s.
Ditto of Sweden 16l. 10s.	Pepper for home consump. 16d.	Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Tallow 38s.	Ditto for Exportation 12d. half	Oporto red per Pipe 36l.
Country Tallow 36s. 6d.	Tea Bobea fine 10s. a 12s.	Ditto white 24l.
Cochineal 18s. 9d.	Ditto ordinary 9 a 10s.	Lisbon red 30l.
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